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HER

CYCLOPS CHRISTIANUS;

OR,

AN ARGUMENT TO DISPROVE

THE

Supposed Antiquity

OF THE

STONEHENGE AND OTHER MEGALITHIC ERECTIONS

IN ENGLAND AND BRITANNY.

BY

A. HERBERT,

LATE OF MERTON COLLEGE, AND OF THE INNER TEMPLE.

LONDON:

JOHN PETHERAM, 94, HIGH HOLBORN.

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CYCLOPS CHRISTIANUS,

&c.

SECTION I.

Variety and vanity of opinions. Theory of the Hyperboreans. That people were not placed in or near Britain by Hecatæus. Yet they were misplaced by him. Their history. And an approximate statement of their geographical position.

Few things have interested antiquarians more, than the remarkable systems of unhewn stone erected with prodigious labour in these islands; of which the Stonehenge, though not the most extensive, was for historical reasons the most important and memorable.

Many conjectures have been expended upon this monument, with singular ill success. And I will succinctly enumerate the schemes or theories, which I have read.

That the Phœnicians possessed Great Britain, and built it. But the Phœnicians did not possess Great Britain; and that is itself an historical fiction. And if they had, they would have built there in such manner as they did at home. For such is not only the natural course of human action; but was their recorded practice in their colonies. See Strabo xvi. 1090, Falc.

That it was erected as a monument to Bunduica or Boadicea, was the conjecture of Mr. Edmund Bolton, in his Nero Cæsar or Monarchy Depraved. But it has no other ground,

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than the statement of Dion Cassius, that her interment was costly, p. 1011, ed. Reimar. Nero C. cap. 32, p. 182, ed. 1629. But it is absurd to ascribe such labours to a period of turbulent insurrection, with ephemeral success.

The theory of Inigo Jones [1], from Vitruvius, that this was an ædes rotunda, sine cellâ, columniata, and an ædificium sub divo hypæthrumque, dedicated by the Romans to Cœlus, or Jupiter [2] Cœlus, however it agrees in the circular columniated hypæthric form, will not account for so strange a deviation from the Roman style; upon which head, Dr. Charleton's Chorea Gigantum may be consulted with advantage. Nor will that unique passage of Vitruvius, by which only we prove the existence of any temples to Cœlus at all, lead us to ascribe to them such magnitude and importance.

That the Danes erected that circle, for political uses, in the time of Alfred, is a theory which errs in like manner with Mr. Bolton's; by ascribing to a transitory irruption the performances of some settled government. Yet it earned for its author, Dr. Charleton, the commendations of [3] a great poet.

The opinion, that some nation of giants called the Cangi were its constructors, is mere folly, and well entitled by its author, Mr. John Gibbons [4], "A fool's bolt soon shot at Stonage."

Others have surmised, that it was erected in the earliest ages of the world by the Antediluvians. While the Count de Caylus and Pinkerton thought, that no means existed now, by which to form any opinion whatever on the subject; and Roger Gale [5] appears to me to have been pretty much of their mind.

The claims of the pagan Anglo-Saxons are no such light suggestion, as most others; and it was embraced by Walter

[1] See his Stoneheng Restored, 1655; and Vitruvius i. cap. 2; iv. cap. 7.

[2] According to the punctuation adopted. See Vitr. i. c. 2, in the editions of Schneider and Marini.

[3] See Dryden's Epistle to Dr. Charleton.

[4] This author flourished circa A.D. 1670.

[5] He says, that of Salkeld, Stonehenge, and Rollrick, "mirum est omnium historicorum nostrorum silentium;" and again, "Aubury et Silbury taceo utpote incertæ originis opera." In Antonini Itin. pp. 39. 134.

Scott, in his notes on Dryden, xi. p. 13. But we must remember, they only held Wiltshire from 552 to the baptism of Cynegils in 635; and were not, during that interval, a secure and peaceful dynasty. The clearest refutation, however, lies in the ample proofs we possess of a British origin.

By far the most prevalent idea is that of a sacred edifice belonging to the Druids. And many suppose that it was a temple of the Sun, erected by ancient people called in Greece Hyperboreans, but identical with the Druids.

Passing over such opinions, as have retained no advocates, and would only waste our time, there is some need to dwell on the Hyperborean theory. Stukeley maintained it faintly, because inconsistently, and while supposing [6] Hyperborea to be Shetland. Stonehenge, p. 40. It afterwards found favour with Mr. Payne Knight in his Priapus, and was embraced by Mr. Maurice in his Indian Antiquities vi. pp. 76. 125, by Mr. E. Davies and others of that school, and in the splendid volumes of Sir R. Colt Hoare.

The younger or [7] Abderite Hecatæus, circa B.C. 320, and some other unnamed [8] authors of mythology, had related that the Hyperboreans inhabited an island in the ocean, under the Bear, in the parts right beyond Celtica, of a size not inferior to Sicily. They had a magnificent grove sacred to Apollo, and a considerable temple, adorned with many donations, and circular in form. Their city was sacred to the god, who visited it in person once in every nineteen years, being the apocatastasis, or completion of the magnus annus; and the people were considered as his priests. They were intimate with the Greeks, especially with those of Athens and Delos, and

[6] Mr. Carte, on the other hand, took the Hyperboreans for the Britons, but fancied their temple was in the isle of Lewis. Mr. John Wood, again, had British Hyperboreans, and their temple at Stanton Drew. Descr. of Bath, i. pp. 27. 157.

[7] The Abbé Gedoyn has erroneously ascribed this mythus to Hecatæus of Miletus, an historian about 200 years older. Mem. de l'Acad. vii. 114.

[8] This person and the τινὲς ἕτεροι become, in Mr. Davies' hands, "Hecatæus and other *celebrated* authors," and their "mythology" becomes "tradition." Celt. Res. 131. Simmias Rhodius, who was the exact contemporary of Hecatæus, and treated the matter in a similar spirit of fable, was no doubt one of the "some others." See Antoninus Liberalis, cap. 20.

possessed many rich anathemata inscribed with Greek letters. Vide Hecat. ap. Diod. ii. 47. The conjectures derived from this statement are of sufficient moment to require confutation.

The Hyperboreans seem to have been introduced to the notice of the Greeks by Pythagoras, who was himself given out by his followers for the Hyperborean Apollo; and by two cotemporaries, probably also confederates, of that celebrated impostor, Aristeas of Proconnesus, and Abaris the Hyperborean. The scene of their action was Magna Græcia, and particularly the towns of Crotona and Metapontum.

The word hyperborean, beyond the north wind, is essentially[9] relative, and therefore was a ready source of error, both as to the longitude, or the question, north of what place; and as to the latitude, or the question, how far north. Therefore, while some were driving the Hyperboreans up to the frozen ocean and arctic circle, others were liable to misplace them east or west. But even on the assumption that Celtica should be rendered Gaul, we shall not, if we try the point according to Magna Græcia, be guided to Britannia.

For the word would then apply to the Cisalpine and Helvetian Gauls that lay north of Italy and bordered upon it, not to the western Gaul or Comata of the Romans. North of Italy lay the country of the warlike Cisalpines, who sacked Rome. North of these extended the Alps, from which mountains the Boreas of Italy blew, at this day called la tramontana. So Pythagoras and his friends, speaking at Metapontum, would have been commonly understood; and under that notion Posidonius said, the Hyperboreans lived among the Alps of Italy. Schol. in Ap. Rhod. ii. 675. Above those mountains and that wind lay Germany, the Baltic Sea, and Scandinavia; and thus, we should seek the Hyperboreans of Hecatæus in the Scandinavian peninsula, in much later times reputed an island, the "Scandinavia Insula" of Pliny, viii. 16.

But this is really too far west for Hecatæus. Celtica, as

[9] Sometimes it is merely "north of the person speaking," as when Ovid says "in hyperboreâ Pallene." Met. xv. 356. Wherever Martial employs the word, it expresses no more than northern. iv. 3; vii. 5; viii. 78; ix. 46. 103.

Wesseling remarks, does not necessarily denote either Gaul[1], or the West. I may add, that in Hecatæus it rather signified Russian Lapland, or Siberia. The Hyperboreans of that author were situated in the island of Elixœa, not smaller than Sicily, at the mouth of (*ὑπὸ ποταμῷ*) or beyond (*ἀπὸ ποταμοῦ*) the river Cerambycas, and near the promontory of Celtica called Lytarmis, where the ridges of the Riphæan mountains and the influence of the heavenly bodies come to an end together. Steph. Byzant. in *Elixœa* and in *Carambycæ*. Hecatæus cit. utrobique. Plin. Nat. Hist. vi. p. 574. Franz. But geographers esteem that the Cerambycas is either the modern Dwina, flowing into the White Sea at St. Michael Archangel, and that Lytarmis is Cape Canin ; or else that the former is the river Obi in Asia, and the latter Cape Jaloral at its estuary. If we could give Hecatæus credit for any serious meaning, we must agree with Cluverius that his Elixœa meant Nova Zembla. See Hardouin on Pliny. Cluverii Germ. lib. i. p. 8. He was not however speaking as an historian or as a geographer, but as a mythologist ; and so vainly as to say, that when the three sons of Boreas and Chion, giants of nine feet high, resumed the periodical sacrifices, the wild swans flocked to the Hyperborean temple, and joined with the musicians in singing hymns to Apollo. Ælian Hist. Anim. lib. xi. tom. i. p. 345. Schneid. He was one of those, who (as afterwards did Dionysius *vss.* 31, 2, Pliny, Ptolemy, lib. ii. cap. 2, and various others) carried up the meaning of *Hyperborean* to the Cronian Sea and towards the Pole ; and of whom Heyne has well said, "quo latius

[1] Mr. Davies, translating Diodorus *between commas*, puts Gallia Celtica for the one word Κελτική. The only author that ever applied this name to the Gauls was Heraclides Ponticus, who so called the Cisalpine Gauls. For in his book On the Soul, he said, that a report had arrived from the West, that an army coming forth from the Hyperboreans had taken a Greek city called Rome, situated thereabouts upon the Great Sea. Nor do I wonder (says Plutarch) that a man so fabulous and given to forgery, as Heraclides, should interlard these grand sayings, about the Hyperboreans and the Great Sea. Plut. in Camillo, p. 140, Xyl. Mr. Davies suppresses all the absurdities of that notorious charlatan, as well as the strictures of Plutarch ; complacently stating, that *Heraclides of Pontus calls the Celtæ Hyperboreans*, and nothing more. Celt. Res. p. 180.

notitia locorum processit, eo magis ad septentrionem recessere Hyperboreorum sedes." In Apollod. p. 169. At length it ran out into the vague and indefinite ; expressive of a terra borealis incognita. Marcianus of Heraclea, about A.D. 300, speaks of "the hyperborean ocean bordering upon the hyperborean and unknown country," where Hudson wisely has put small initials. Periplus, p. 56.

But the story in question, however misplaced by mythologists of no great reputation, beyond all reasonable doubt had its true situation, neither in the west, nor in the far north, but in the east, in the countries north by east of Greece. Apollodorus[2], a mythologist of the first order, places the Hyperboreans at the Asiatic Mount Atlas (which he expressly distinguishes from the African), and not remote from Mount Caucasus. Apollod. lib. ii. p. 192 and 197, ed. Heyne. Also Tzetz. Chil. ii. 371. Diodorus, while transcribing the statements of the Abderite, himself considered them to be a people of Asia. He describes them in his Second book, which is exclusively Asiatic, and he begins thus. "Since I have taken in hand the description of the northern parts *of Asia*, it will not be foreign to my purpose to repeat what has been fabulously said concerning the Hyperboreans," *&c.* In fact that name was used in two ways. One was merely relative, and might be given to any nation, by others situate to the south of them ; or to the Arctic regions, relatively to the rest of the world. But the Greeks had likewise pretty early made it the positive appellation[3] of one particular people. Those who do not keep

[2] "Hercules went from Greece to the Hyperboreans, through Illyricum, and by the river Eridanus or Po. Apollod. ii. cap. 4." Davies Celt. Res. 180. This deceitful quotation suppresses, that he went from the Po to Libya, thence to Egypt [Asia, Rhodes] and Arabia, from which country he found his way to the Caucasus, and thence to the Hyperboreans. Such are the petty artifices we have to deal with. Mr. Higgins, the faithful transcriber even of a Davies and a Vallancey, copies that mis-quotation verbatim, and adds, "this points directly to Britain." Celtic Druids, p. 118. Indirectly, it *does* point thither, that being the object to which Mr. Davies sought to direct his readers.

[3] It may naturally be expected, that the relative and positive geography were sometimes mixed ; as in Pindar, who placed this people at the fountains of the Ister, Olymp. iii. 25, and in a certain Protarchus, who fancied that the Riphæans were the Alps. Apud Steph. in *Hyperb.*

constantly in their minds the distinction between the relative epithet hyperborean or lying to the north, and the positive name Hyperboreans (as Major Rennell and divers others have omitted to do), will but add to the obscurities of this topic. The confusion in our minds arises from the relative term having been anciently used like a positive one, and the abstract and ideal Hyperboreans confounded with the geographical and historical; as if we were to confound our south-eastern neighbours the Nordmanni with the people of the north, and to fancy Rouen the capital of Scandinavia.

The positive Hyperboreans are the same who have otherwise been termed the Arimaspians and the Delphians. It would rather seem, from a comparison of passages, that the former was a more general and inclusive denomination; while the Hyperboreans proper, or Delphians, were the sacred tribe, in whose district stood the temple of Apollo Hyperboreus, of whom they were the ministers. Pindar. Ol. iii. 28. Pherenicus ap. Schol. ibid. Callim. Del. 291. Antimachus ap. Steph. in *Hyperborei*. While the Arimaspi are spoken of as warriors, these latter are said to have practised and enjoyed peace.

The site of their temple cannot be ascertained, and some of the accounts of it are hard to reconcile. But a strong and general stream of testimony confirms the mythology of Apollodorus, by which the Hyperboreans were placed beyond the Caucasus, as you come from Arabia, that is, north of the Caucasus; and shows it to have lain near to the boundaries of Europe and Asia, and to the river Tanaïs. For we read, that they "were said by most to be in Europe" (Pliny), although "some gave them to Asia rather than to Europe" (Solinus), and preferred to say with Mela, that the Arimaspæ were the hominum primi in Asia as you went from the Mæotis, and that the Hyperboreans were in Asiatico littore primi as you passed the Riphæan hills. Lib. ii. cap. 1; iii. cap. 5. Of his twelve parallels of latitude, Pliny fixes them at the east of that same, which contains Britain at its west; that is, from 50 to 58 north. Lib. vi. c. ult. That they were near to the river Tanaïs or Don, and to the Riphæans, and not widely remote from the Sea of Azof, was the general

persuasion[4]. But those accounts are perplexed by a geographical error. The Riphæan mountains, which are the Super-Caucasian Atlas of Apollodorus and the modern Urals, do not stretch between the Don and the Volga, and the Don hath not its source in those mountains. Whereby the site which was usually assigned to the Arimasps and Hyperboreans, in respect of that river and those hills, becomes untenable. And we are brought to an alternative, either of placing those people between the Don and the Volga, and abandoning the Riphæans, or of removing the Hyperboreans beyond the Urals and the sources of the Volga, and abandoning the Tanaïs. Æschylus placed them beyond the Palus Mæotis upon the river Pluton, which is an unascertained and mythical sounding appellation; Vibius Sequester, on the "fluvius Arimaspa gentis Scytharum, unde aurum Scythæ legunt;" and Zenothemis, ap. Tzetz. Chil. viii. 685, "by the streams of the river of Scythia." All which phrases add nothing to our information.

But, although ambiguities abound in treating of the rivers of Scythia, we shall do better to adhere to the "Hyperboreas glacies Tanaimque nivalem," and dismiss the "Riphæas pruinas." For the facts, that this site was moderately remote from the Cimmerian Bosphorus and Mæotian Sea, and that its intercourse was kept up with Greece, have more weight than geographical names, which we know to have been ill distinguished and understood. The probabilities of the case are opposed to a vast remoteness inland, through dreary tracts and numberless savage tribes. But moreover it seems that this sanctuary, united by close ties to that of Delos, must have been held by a tribe of Grecian emigrants. See Wesseling on Diodorus and on Herodotus. Hecatæus reports, that some Greeks had penetrated thither, and dedicated offerings with Greek inscriptions. The numerous Greek colonies, which lined the shores of the Taurie Chersonese, Cimmerian Bosphorus, and Mæotian Sea, had probably sent forth this colony into the barbarous continent.

[4] Æsch. Prom. 740. 798. 810. Herod. iii. 116; iv. 13. 27. Strabo xi. 739. Virgil. Geo. iv. 517, 518. Steph. Byz. in Hyperb. Plin. N. H. vi. 14; vii. 2. Solinus, cap. 15, 16. Orpheus Arg. 1061. 1075. Macrob. Somn. Scip. ii. c. 7.

The case of the Geloni is highly illustrative. Those were Greek people who had been driven from their emporiums or factories, and obtained a settlement among the Budine Scythians, between the Tanaïs and Borysthenes. They dwelt in a walled town of no less than 30 stadia square, with Grecian temples, images, and orgies[5]; but all was of wood, even the walls. Agriculture and gardening were their pursuits; and their language was betwixt the Scythian and the Greek. But the Budines continued nomades, and spoke pure Scythian; and sometimes the Greeks erroneously called them Geloni, because the city of Gelonus stood in their lands. Herod. iv. 108.

The names of those Hyperboreans, who were said to have visited Greece, were mostly Greek, and many of them connected with the Apollinarian worship, Pagasus, Aguieus, Argis, Opis, Loxo, Hecaerge, Hyperoche, and Laodice; and others, whose names are unmentioned, but who served as an escort for the virgins bringing gifts, were collectively called Perpherees, which seems to be formed *ἀπὸ τοῦ περιφέρειν*. The geographer Mnaseas of Patara said, the Hyperborean people were named the Delphi; a name derived from the Greek worship of Apollo. Schol. Ap. Rhod. ii. 675. And it was even reported, that the Hyperborean temple was itself the original temple of Delphi, miraculously removed from Phocis to Scythia. Pausanias Phoc. c. 5. It is not wholly impossible, that Abaris the Hyperborean may have derived his appellation from the Greek tongue, which he spoke with the fluency of a native, and in which all the works ascribed to him were composed. See Himerius Orat. 25, p. 815. Wernsdorf. For its meaning in that language, *without a ship or vessel*, bears upon the story of his voyages, performed astride upon one of the arrows of Apollo; whence his surname of *Ἀἰθροβάτης*. Herod. iv. 36. Iambl. Vita Pyth. c. 19, c. 28. To this tale evidently, whether to the name or not, the poet was alluding when he said, "*Neither in ships*, nor going afoot, could you find the wondrous way to the

[5] And their complexion approached to the Greek; as we may infer from the statement, that the Budines were blue-eyed and red-haired.

synod of the Hyperboreans." Hecatæus related that the Hyperboreans had *a certain peculiar dialect*, and a great and most ancient familiarity with the Greeks. And if he was well informed in supposing that the Hyperboreans used the Metonic[6] cycle of nineteen years, that circumstance affords an indication of their acquaintance with the progress of philosophy. Diod. ii. 47. The Responses of the Hyperborean Oracle were circulated in the Greek language, under the name of Logia. Servius in Æn. iv. 146.

But, if we conclude that this was one of the Grecian establishments in the Mæotian track of colonization, we should content ourselves with ascending the stream of the Tanaïs from its estuary, without attempting to cross the Ural Mountains, which perhaps no Greek had ever seen. It was indeed true, that *beyond Boreas* did mean beyond some mountains whence Boreas descended; and the misapplication of that truth introduced the notion of the Riphæans, whose course is more to the north and south. But any ancient Greek, from the remote age of Tyrtæus downwards, could have told Pherenicus and Hecatæus, that Hyperborea signified the parts beyond Mount Hæmus, and that "the House of Boreas," and "the Boreadæ," were in Thrace[7];

> Ἐσχατιῇ Θρήκης δυσχειμέρου, ἐνθ' ἄρα τήν γε (Orithyia)
> Θρηίκιος Βορέης ἀνερείψατο Κεκροπίηθεν.

The Hyperborean temple was in the habit af sending sacred gifts to Athens, to be forwarded from thence to the temple of Delos. What Callimachus says is, that Delos every year received gifts from various quarters, of which the Arimaspians were one; but not, every year from the Arimaspians. The gifts, of which the nature is not on record, were enclosed in wheaten straw, and faithfully transmitted from hand to hand through the various tribes of barbarians, till they reached the Adriatic, whence they were conveyed to the Greeks of Dodona. Herod. iv. 33. Callim. Del. 284. Another

[6] Invented by Meton or by his friend Phænus about B.C. 430.

[7] Hence the confused geography of Val. Flaccus,

> Qualis ubi a gelidis Boreas convallibus *Hebri*
> Tollitur, et volucres *Rhiphæa* per ardua nubes
> Præcipitat.—2. 515.

route was from Scythia to the Port of Sinope in the Black Sea, and from thence to Attica. Pausan. i. 31. This commerce was long established in the days of Herodotus, though there may be room for doubt as to its being more ancient than those of Pythagoras and Abaris ; Callimachus, as Spanheim has remarked, speaks of it as continuing to exist in his own days ; but in those of Mela, 300 years later, the custom was vitio gentium temeratus, and therefore disused. The decline of the oracular system did not overthrow the temples of Greece, protected as much by law and public order as by faith ; but the same decline may have proved fatal to the oracle and priests of the Tanaïtic wilderness, who had no safeguard for their existence, but the faith and fear of the Scythians.

Another circumstance is interesting, as bearing indirectly upon the position of the Scythic Hyperboreans. The ass is said by Herodotus and Aristotle, to be an animal unable to bear the cold of Scythia, and therefore not found in that country ; nor, adds the latter, even in France, or "the Celti who are above Iberia." Herod. iv. 28. 129. Arist. de Anim. Gen. ii. 235, Sylb. But it is certain, that animal lives and breeds, though impaired in size and beauty, in very northern climates. And Herodotus virtually admits the untruth of his reason for their absence from Scythia, by saying that every where else the ass and mule were more patient of frost than the horse, but that in Scythia it was the direct converse : iv. 129. But these statements resolve themselves into two heads of truth ; first, that the wild beast or onager is only found in the warm climates ; and secondly, that the equestrian tribes of barbarians did not care to rear that slow beast of burthen.

The peculiar sacrifice[8] of the Hyperborean temple was the onosphagia or hecatomb of asses. Pindar. Pyth. x. 51. Callim. Fragm. 187, 188, Ernesti. So much so, that it was an inexpiable profanation and sacrilege to sacrifice asses to Apollo at any other altars. Simmias of Rhodes, in his *Apollo*, related how a certain Cleinis, who had been wont to

[8] The general assertion of Porphyry (de Abst. ii. 25), that asses were never sacrificed by the Greeks, is modified by Ovid's statement,

"Lampsacus hoc animal solita est mactare Priapo."

accompany Apollo and Diana in their periodical visits to the temple of the Hyperboreans, was about to perform the like sacrifices in Mesopotamia, but was warned by the god to desist. However, his sons Lycius and Harpasus persevered in that design ; and the animals, becoming by Divine judgment infuriate, devoured Cleinis, his children, and all their attendants. Antoninus Liberalis, cap. 20.

It is not likely, that the statements concerning the onosphagia should be untrue. For it was no less contrary to the spirit of religion, to impute to a venerated shrine unclean or preposterous oblations, than it was to offer such. While, by parity of feeling, the most ignoble rites were ascribed to despised or hated altars, as onolatry to the Jews, and infanticide to the Christians. But if we know the peculiar ritual of a temple, we must be aware of the real existence of that temple. And if we farther know, that the beasts there offered were of a kind neither indigenous nor reared in Scythia, but a foreign animal brought from the South, we derive a confirmation of the fact that the Hyperboreans were foreign settlers, and of the probability that they lived within a moderate remoteness from the Cimmerian and Mæotic colonies of Greece and Asia Minor. Perhaps we may also discern in their rites a determination not to Scythize, or confound their sacrifices with those offered from the abundant flocks and herds of the Nomades. That end was effected by their "celeri victima tarda deo," and could not be effected by the sacrifice of any of the animal productions of Scythia. At the same time, there would be no pretext for introducing it into the Greek or Macedonian territories, where it was unusual and unauthorized ; and the judgments against the house of Cleinis remain just and reasonable.

The visit of Abaris to Greece, the proceedings of Pythagoras and the Pythagoreans, and the intercourse with Delos, are the main historical evidences of this people and their temple. That furnished by the impostor Aristeas was but feeble, and probably very inexact. For he did not pretend to have visited them, but only the nation of the Issedones ; whom he described as being their next neighbours, and whose report he professed to give. But, again, he did not profess to

have visited the Issedones in the body, only in the spirit, and while his soul was absent from its prison ; and, in fact, he visited nobody at all. Maximus Tyrius i. p. 288 ; ii. p. 222. This explains Herodotus' phrase, that he performed his journey to the Issedones Φοιβόλαμπτος.

That which constitutes a serious difficulty in the geography, viz. the relative position of the Issedones, is very probably as erroneous, as its author was vile. It seems strange that his soul, instead of flying to the place, and contemplating these matters in their truth, should only visit another and barbarous nation, to inquire of them and hear their questionable report. Yet it was politic ; for the blame of what was incorrect might be thrown upon the Issedones. Herodotus not untruly observes, that if the Issedones knew any such name as Hyperboreans, the Scythians, who were well acquainted with that of Arimaspi, would also have known it ; which they did not. Hyperborean was a title given to and accepted by them, in their intercourse with the Southern Greeks, as a people dwelling away to the North. But in Scythia they would not be so called, being neither to the north of that country, nor even situated in its most northern parts. The fact, almost unavoidable, of their being unknown to the Scythians by that name, raised undue inferences in the mind of Herodotus ; and the same circumstance, while it made the historian sceptical, may have rendered the impostor more erroneous.

For instance Aristeas, in his account of this concern, enumerated three tribes or denominations, Arimaspi, Hyperborei, and Grypes. The gryph or lion-eagle was a symbolical animal used by Greek and Egyptian artists, in honour of certain deities, but for the most part as a symbol of Apollo[9], or of that which appertains to him. Montfaucon Ant. i. p. 90 ; ii. pp. 333. 335. 392. Natalis Comes iv. cap. 10. Hope's Essay on Architecture p. 29, ed. 3. Claudian represents those very Gryphs of Hyperborea and the Riphæan hills as drawing the chariot of Apollo,

[9] Those esoteric teachers who made three Apollos, celestial, terrestrial, and infernal, referred the Gryphs to the terrestrial. Porphyrii Sol cit. Serv. in Eclog. 5. 66.

quum pulcher Apollo
Lustrat Hyperboreas Delphis cessantibus aras—
. . . . . .
At si Phœbus adest, et frenis grypha jugalem
Riphæo tripodas repetens detorsit ab axe, &c.

But if the ancients expressly called the *Hyperboreans* δᾶμον Ἀπόλλωνος θεράποντα, and the *Gryphes* denoted the same thing by way of symbolism, there is much appearance of their being the same people. The Hyperboreans kept rich donations in their temple (Hecatæus), and "Abaris is said to have come from the Hyperboreans in order to collect gold for the temple," and he subsequently "returned to his own country to deposit in the temple of the Hyperboreans the gold he had collected for the god." Iambl. de Pyth. Vitâ s. 91, s. 141. So the temple was a treasury, and its ministers were both collectors of gold, and χρυσοφύλακες or treasurers. And it was the story of Aristeas, that the Gryphs employed themselves in collecting gold among the Riphæan hills, and preserving it in hoards, for which they were termed the Chrysophylakes. Herod. iv. 27, aurum . . . . . custodientes. Pliny vii. 2. Unless, therefore, we should assign to Apollo two sets of ministers and two treasuries of hoarded gold in the same parts of the country, which is less credible, the Hyperboreans and the Gryphs will be deemed equivalent terms, in all essential points; for no one can deny, that some men in particular may have been official, and even hereditary, administrators of the sacred finance.

Aristeas spoke of the continual attempts of the Scythians called Arimaspi to purloin from the Gryphs the gold which they had amassed[1]. That the Hyperboreans were not hostilely plundered by the Scythians, and especially by those of their own country, is clear enough. For, if so, their institu-

[1] Four MSS. of Herodotus say ὑπὲρ, that is, *for* the Gryphs; one has ὑπὸ, which would mean *under their authority* or *superintendence;* and three have ὑπ' ἐκ, which implies *from*. The five former exhibit the Chrysophylakes and their Scythian countrymen as having common, not adverse, interests. But Pausanias, Pliny, and Solinus had read the text ὑπ' ἐκ, even if the former had not read the work of Aristeas. And I think that he had read it, for he gives, as on his authority, the peculiar form and colour of the Gryphs; whereas no words of Herodotus indicate that their shape, as described in the Arimaspian Epics, was not human.

tion could not have subsisted at all, and much less could the commerce of gifts and oblations between them and Greece have been maintained. On the contrary, their influence must have been vast, and their sanctity inviolable, not only to rule their own Paraguay, but to command a secure passage for their valuables through many fierce tribes. They could live in no middle and merely tolerable state; and that "Hyperborean prosperity," proverbial to the chorus of Choephoræ,

(κρείσσονα χρυσοῦ,
Μεγάλης δὲ τύχης καὶ Ὑπερβορέου
Μείζονα, φωνεῖς)

was the necessary condition of their existing. Their case may have borne points of resemblance to that of past ages in Christendom, during which great wealth was held sacred in the hands of the Church, while occasional endeavours were made to squeeze it from her; and she, on the other hand, who displayed her moral power in amassing it, partly maintained that power in bestowing it.

For the use of treasures, collected on the savage banks of the Tanaïs, must have been to hold influence over wild and barbarian herdsmen, and so to found in the wilderness that civil power and order, of which their wheaten straw was both a type and a proof. There was a striking instance of this transition in the Alazones. Near to the Milesian factory of Olbia or Borysthenes lay the tribe of Callipidæ, degenerate Greeks, who Scythized in all things, excepting that they raised crops of corn and consumed them. But somewhat farther dwelt the Alazones, who sowed corn for sale, but would not eat of it. See Herod. iv. 17. The introduction of husbandry among the Nomades was alluded to in the poems ascribed to Abaris; if I err not in supposing that Himerius was quoting a portion of their words in his twenty-fifth oration, nearly to this effect:

"Sage Demeter, as they say,
From Eleusin bore away
Metaneira's boy;
Mortals, taught by him to scorn
Nomad boards, of cultured corn
Civil feasts enjoy."

As the Gryphes mean ministers of the Sun, so (I conceive) do Arimaspi mean people of the Sun, for the arim spu, one eye, which formed their name in the Scythic tongue, was the one eye that

"Flames in the forehead of the morning sky;"

and Arimaspus, perpetual king of the Hyperboreans (ap. Pherenicum), was either Apollo himself, or his vicar and representative.

It is said of the Hyperborean temple, that it was called ὁ ναὸς ὁ πτέρινος, the temple made of wings. Eratosthenes Catasterism. 29. See Strabo ix. p. 610. It was (saith Pausanias[2]) constructed at Delphi of the wax and wings of bees, and removed from thence into Hyperborea. Others thought it was woven or wattled of the herb πτέρις or fern. The third idea, that it was called from Pteras of Delphi, its architect, seems contrary to the analogy of the language. Paus. Phoc. cap. 5. The object of the fable was, probably, to facilitate the miracle of removing the temple by composing it of the lightest materials imaginable. But, whatever its meaning, it is singularly unfortunate for those, who would build their Hyperborean temple of the most ponderous materials that ever cumbered the earth.

A circular temple of Apollo, in a large island opposite to Celtica, bore a plausible resemblance to that in Britain; and this theory required examination, as having some vogue, and seeming to have some foundations. But they were foundations laid by the geographical ignorance of an inferior Greek author; and built upon by that of some moderns, not without employing[3] misrepresentations and suppressions to strengthen

[2] And see Plut. de Pyth. Orac. vii. p. 584, Reiske.

[3] An old British poem says something of a cadair cymesur, or appropriate chair, upon which Davies remarks, "Diodorus tells us, that Apollo had his "appropriate chair in the great Hyperborean temple, which antiquaries of no "mean name pronounce to have been no other than the famous structure of "Stonehenge." Mythology, &c. p. 528. This is a sheer figment; there is not a word about any chair at all. According to Vallencey, "Diodorus Siculus "says that, in an island west of the Celtes, the Druids brought the sun and "moon near them; whence several have conjectured that telescopes were not "unknown. Diod. Sic. lib. 6."—Coll. Hiberu. ii. 245. Lest these words should be regarded as a general, not a strictly literal quotation, it is added that,

them. The whole story is too absurd to find credit with any one, that has an acquaintance with the history of mankind.

It has its refutation both in the ignorance, which then existed, of Britannia, and also in the knowledge thereof. About 350 years B.C. Pytheas of Marseilles professed to have navigated the British seas, and beyond them, but did not visit this island; and the account he gave of it was so far from correct, that he described Cantium or Kent as lying several days' sail [4] from the continent of Gaul. Will any man be induced to believe that the island, thus unknown, and afterwards misdescribed, had been keeping up for ages a direct intercourse and interchange of donations with Athens and Delos?

But on the other hand, Britannia was known by her name before the days of Aristotle [5]; it was also known that Kent was her nearest province to the continent; and the geographical position of the island was in a general way, though not accurately, known. It was even known, as they say, against whom I argue, by ages of direct religious communion. But will any one believe that Britannia, some seventy years after the voyage of Pytheas, and more than two hundred after that of the pretended Briton, Abaris, was called in Greece, *the island of Elixœa, at the mouth of the river Cerambycas, at the farthest extremity of the Riphœan mountains, and opposite to the promontory of Lytarmis?* No man alive will lend an ear to such

the expression of Diodorus of bringing the sun and moon near them probably signifies to be well acquainted with their motions. Ibid. The only passage, from which this can come, is the famous one concerning the Hyperboreans, Lib. ii. cap. 47; where there is no mention of *the west*, nor of *the Druids*, nor yet of *the Sun*, and the moon indeed is said to be visible at no remote distance, but nothing about *bringing her near*. Two precautions are adopted to prevent our recognizing that passage in its disguise. First, the omission of all the principal matters that it does contain. And secondly, referring it to the *sixth* book of Diodorus, one which does not exist! It is all, as usual, reproduced by Mr. Higgins. Celtic Druids, p. 114.

[4] I should be reluctant to revert to those ancient opinions, which condemned the veracity of Pytheas. Yet I feel a difficulty of comprehending, how he should sail up the straits and back again, under the impression that the visible shore of Kent was thus widely remote.

[5] Although that name is not contained in his works, of which the treatise de Mundo is notoriously no portion.

a parcel of stuff. Accordingly, not a syllable is ever said by any of that school, about Elixœa, or Cerambycas, or Lytarmis. All this untoward nomenclature and geography is entirely kept out of our sight, and no more of the Abderite Hecatæus is administered to us than suits the object in view, being just so much as Diodorus has quoted.

"Such (says Mr. Maurice, citing that author, and cited himself with triumph by Mr. E. Davies) is the account given near 2000 years ago *of this circular temple*, FOR IT COULD MEAN NO OTHER, by Diodorus the Sicilian, from a writer still prior in time." Davies Myth. p. 303. Maurice cit. ibid. But the italics and the capitals might have been spared, for it did mean another temple as remote from the Stonehenge, more or less, as Amesbury is from Azof. It will not, I hope, be thought that a disproportionate degree of attention has been bestowed upon this legend, when it is considered, that it is the one only voice, that has been even supposed to break the ominous silence of all antiquity.

SECTION II.

Silence of the ancient describers of Britain. Negative inference from ancient history. The like as to Transalpine Gaul, Cisalpine Gaul, and Galatia. The case of Armorica considered. Strong inferences therefrom. Destruction of the Druidic Sanctuaries by the Romans. Evidence from British names examined. Also that from Roman Roads. Mr. Rickman's arguments upon Avebury.

It has long since forcibly struck me, that there could have been no such megalithic system as we are now taught to call Druidical, in the days of those ancient authors who described Britannia. If the concurring silence of persons well disposed to mention such particulars be evidence of non-existence, the Stonehenges, Aveburies, Carnacs, and all such giant fabrics as modern ages have admired, did not exist in Britain or Gaul when Cæsar, Strabo, Diodorus, Mela, Pliny, and Tacitus wrote. Nothing could be more new and admirable to the eyes of a Greek or Roman, than the sight of structures so rude and uncouth, and yet so stupendous. It is naturally possible, that Egypt might have been described by many, and yet the Pyramids unmentioned; but morally, it is impossible. And so, it is a thing passing rational belief, that such a system of colossal works should have remained unalluded to in prose or verse from the landing of the legions of Julius to the departure of Stilicho's, had they been in existence.

It the more passes belief, when we term them Druidical. For then the existence, that we speak of, is not the mere persistency of those masses which have defied wind and weather unto this day; but an existence in full repair, use, and energy, as the chief seats of an existing government, and of a living superstition so fierce and potent, that it was the main terror of the Roman invaders of Britain.

To believe such things readily, is to be really credulous. Customs simply unheard of, and unthought of, cannot be the subjects of express negation. All the denial possible is silence ; which silence, observed for a short time, and applied to small matters, leaves them doubtful, but contrariwise becomes a full moral proof.

Opposite to the Rhine (says Pliny) is Britannia, rendered famous by the writings of our people and those of the Greeks: iv. c. 30. Many authors (says Tacitus) have treated of the territory and people of Britannia, and I do not pretend to compete with them in genius or diligence. Agric. c. 10. A fair sprinkling of these authors, besides Pliny and Tacitus themselves, have come to our hands ; and they, who are lost to us, furnished the extant authors of antiquity with their several allusions to this island and its people. Various and minute particulars were recorded concerning the productions, arts, and customs of Britain ; and in so doing, their full share of attention was given to the Druids, their learning, religious rites, and magic. The consecration of woods and groves had nothing to astonish the Greeks and Romans. The misletoe was but an addition to the catalogue af sagmina or verbenæ, magic plants or herbs. But men whose observation was attracted by such a silly bauble as the ovum anguinum, had no eyes to see and admire an architecture, sublime and awful, and widely distinct from other European modes of construction.

When we have nothing to quote, there are but two ways of procuring authority ; misapplying irrelevant passages, and coining such as do not exist. Both have been attempted. For we read of "the Druidical circles[1] which . . . . received "from Tacitus the expression rudes et informes saxo- "rum compages, and from Cicero, the appellation mirificæ "moles." Tacitus was speaking of a hasty fortification, which Caractacus threw up to strengthen his position, in modum valli saxa præstruit, and which was forced by the legions of Ostorius. Ann. xii. 33. 35. The words from Cicero do not, so far as I can find, exist in his works. On the com-

[1] Essay on the Celtic Antiquities of America, in Silliman's Journal of Science and Arts, vii. p. 156.

parative merits of these two modes of citing I am not casuist enough to decide.

It has been disputed, whether the Gaulish Druids had any temples whatsoever, the evidence of it being considered slight and doubtful. The negative is strongly maintained by Dom Martin, in his Religion des Gaulois, Liv. i. c. 13, and adopted by Mr. Falconer in Strab. p. 277, not. 36. It is certain, there were sacred treasuries in many places. But (they argue) it is not said, that the treasures were kept in any building; and they were guarded by religion alone, being merely brought in unum locum, and are described as harum rerum *extructi tumuli* locis consecratis. Cæsar vi. 17. Their gold was chucked (ἔῤῥιπται) into sacred places (ἱερὰ και τεμένη) unguarded or unenclosed, ἀνειμένα. Diod. Sic. v. c. 27. Some of their treasures were sunk in lakes or pools, which bestowed on them the greatest (ἀσυλία) inviolability. Strabo iv. 261. But, as it is certain that the famous treasure of Thoulouse, the Aurum Tolosanum, was taken from out of the lake, (Strabo, ibid. Justin. xxxii. 3), and as Strabo says the Tolosan Ἱερὸν possessed that treasure, it is inferred that the lake itself was the only sanctuary, and was his Ἱερὸν, the Templa of A. Gellius, and Templum of Orosius. Where Suetonius states, that Cæsar plundered the fana templaque Deûm donis referta (Jul. c. 54), he is, and I think fairly, considered as merely asserting, in words of common use, the plunder of the sacred treasuries. And in like manner Cicero, when saying of the Gauls (pro Font. c. 10) that humanis hostiis aras ac templa funestant, was merely reviling their cruelties in conventional phrase, and not describing their works of art.

However, upon consideration, I cannot go the whole length of those opinions. In the statement of Posidonius (ap. Strabo p. 260) that the gold was partly kept in the sacred lakes, and partly in certain places called σηκοῖς, by which shrines or small temples are usually meant, the latter noun is very harshly explained by Dom Martin to mean a secret corner of the lake; and he does not consider the direct antithesis between λίμνη and σηκός. But the plainest fact on the subject is one, which I do not see quoted; that in an island near the mouth of the Loire, supposed to be Noirmoutier, there

was a temple *of which the roof was taken off once a year*, in order that women might throw into it certain heavy offerings, by suffering which to drop (while carrying them up a ladder, I suppose) they incurred the penalty of becoming human victims; and *the roof was put on again before sunset.* Strabo iv. 277. From this passage we may collect both the existence of sacred buildings to contain the treasures, and their slight and trivial construction; which were mere cabins made of planks and hurdles, like the dwellings of the people. Strabo p. 275.

But the evidence falls short of showing any other temples, than the treasuries; which neither secured, nor were intended to secure, their treasures from any thing but weather. That the Druids had their gods in the temples, had any altars there, or performed any sacrifices within them, can ill be proved. That order of priests was "deep in desert woods revered," making those gloomy coverts their places of worship, as the early Persians did the summits of hills. Dion Cassius places the sacrifices of Andate in her grove. Even where Gaulish civilization was highest, in the neighbourhood of Marseilles, the idols of their gods were not erected in any temples, but in the groves. And the gods themselves were not monoliths or menhirion; but stocks of wood, hewn into some characteristic shapes, rather than humaniform carvings.

> Arboribus suus horror inest, tum plurima nigris
> Fontibus unda cadit, simulacraque mæsta deorum
> Arte carent cæsisque extant informia truncis.
> Ipse situs[2] putrique facit jam robore pallor
> Attonitos. Non vulgatis sacrata figuris
> Numina sic metuunt.—Lucan. iii. 411.

The same poet states, that each of the sacred trees was sprinkled with the blood of the victims for a lustration. But where the gods were, there must have been the sacrifices; and Strabo's ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς (unless rendered "in their sacred rites") must be taken largely, for the ἄλσος or τέμενος, as Dion also speaks of sacrifices in the grove of Andate and *the other* ἱερά.

After the Romans had come in, there were both sculptured

[2] Situs signifies antiquity, and the squalid appearance thereof.

images and proper temples of the gods; such as the Vasso in Auvergne, the Daurade of Thoulouse, the Isarndor of Mercury near Lyons, &c.; and the temple of Divus Claudius and Victoria at Camulodunum.

Upon a fair consideration of the question, I can discover no reasons for concluding that the Druidic religion, which has so many and big stones laid to its charge, made use of any stone at all, unless it may have been for altar slabs. And the defect of evidence extends even to that point [3].

[3] For their altars may have been wooden piles, like those of Scythia. But I am not free from doubts, on the whole question of their having altars. It is twice clearly stated by Herodotus, that the Persian Magi (down to his time) permitted no altars, and derided those nations who made use of them, Lib. i. cap. 131, 132. Strabo xv. p. 1039. The practice of so great and famous a priesthood of the Gentiles will be a sufficient answer to any who think, that where there were sacrifices there must have been the structures we call altars. All the modes of sacrifice, that I find particularly described, are more or less opposed to a ceremony performed altarwise. One was to enclose the victims, human or bestial, in a colossus of straw or wicker-work, and then set fire to it. Cæsar vi. 16. Strabo iv. 277. Another way was to shoot them with arrows, or to crucify them, "in the ἱερὰ." Strabo ibid. The latter mode includes both the suspension and the impaling, described by Dion as performed in Andate's grove or ἱερὸν. p. 1008. The suspension was probably on the trees. Other victims were stabbed from behind (unexpectedly, as I infer), and prognostics formed from their mode of falling, and the convulsions of their limbs. Strabo ibid. Diod. Sic. 5. 31. Sometimes the victim was adorned with robes and garlands, and hurled from a precipice. Petron. Sat. p. ult. Serv. in Æn. iii. 57. Sometimes he was stoned to death. Lact. in Stat. Theb. 10. v. 793. And lastly, there was an annual rite of tearing a person to pieces, as was done to Pentheus. Strabo ibid. A series of rites, that square so ill with the idea of an oblation presented at an altar, may well engender scruples as to their having employed any such apparatus.

When Tacitus (xiv. c. 30) says of the Druids of Mona, "cruore captivo *adolere aras* fas habebant," he merely adopts, as Cicero does for Fonteius, a common phraseology, that avers nothing. And the like may be said, generally, of instances which depend on the use of that noun, used morally, and not descriptively. The most pointed passage is an obscure one in Lucan's valuable description of the Grove near Marseilles;

> sed barbara ritû
> Sacra Deûm, *structæ diris altaribus aræ*,
> Omnis et humanis lustrata cruoribus arbor.—iii. 435.

This seems to be more descriptive, and is worded, as if to describe some peculiarities. And its force seems to be this; "there are altars piled up with a direful elevation." The commentator Lemaire expounds it "aræ having a superstructure of altaria," but adds, "perhaps the altaria mean the sacrifices

Strabo, who added to Cæsar's information whatever the Augustan and Tiberian ages had afforded of knowledge, says of the British nation as follows: "Their manners are in part like the Gauls, in part simpler and more barbarous. So that some of them, although abounding in milk, make no cheese, from not knowing how, and are ignorant of gardening and of other husbandry. There are [a plurality of] sovereignties among them. In war they mostly use chariots, as also do some of the Gauls. The forests are their towns; for they fence in a spacious circuit with felled trees, and build themselves huts there, and stables for their cattle, [which they occupy] for no long time." Geogr. iv. p. 280. Diodorus says of the Britons, "They have cheap habitations, chiefly made of rushes or wood." 5. c. 21. And it may here be noted that their verb adeilaw, to build, now applied to Solomon's temple, means literally to wattle, or weave with hurdle rods.

I never heard of a nation, whose religion was cultivated in laborious works of stone or brick, and which had not also works more or less splendid, and of similar materials, for the inhabitation of their rulers, and of the more noble and wealthy subjects. While Israel abode in tents, the God of Israel was no better lodged. The only temples in Scythia, of which there was one in every nome or district, were in truth unworthy of that name; wooden *altaria* is what they were. A square pile of faggots was laid upon the ground, the summit of which was made smooth and level, and an iron sword symbolical of Mars was planted upon it. Herod. iv.

themselves." Servius (our chief authority on these words) thrice observes that altaria was said for the offerings; altaria, ipsa libamina; quæ continentur ab eis, quæ ponuntur; quæ in altaria funduntur. In Eclog. v. 66. viii. 105. Æn. xii. 174. The aræ altaria on Mount Olympus (Solinus cap. 9.) is thought by Salmasius to mean the ἐπίπυρον or fire-place of the altar. p. 110. But the learned editor of Lucan, C. F. Weber, concludes that both here and in Solinus, the altaria are the victims offered. I think that Lucan's altar of direful piling up may mean the famous osier giant, that was set up and filled with victims. The Druidic *altar*, meaning not a sacred area or plot of ground, but a piece of wrought stone or metal, remains doubtful to me. History seems rather adverse to it, and language is not unequivocal in its favour.

As the altare of Hesus and ara of Diana Taranis were neither Druidical nor properly Gaulish, we are not concerned with them; even if they were named descriptively, which they are not.

69. 62. No temple was ever celebrated, of any people properly barbarous; whether it were nomadic, or practising a rude and incipient husbandry, but without cities of durable construction. For I need not repeat that the considerable (ἀξιόλογος) temple of the Hyperboreans was not a work of barbarian origin.

Dr. Stukeley might exclaim with reasonable astonishment, "Thus the Druids contented themselves to live in huts and caves, whilst they employed many thousands of men, a whole country to labour at these public structures dedicated to the Deity;" if it were true, that the architects of whom he spoke did live in huts and caves. Which I do no more believe, than that Dr. Stukeley lived in a cave. The same contrast "appeared very surprising" to Dr. Henry, but that historian had the good sense to qualify his remarks by saying, "if this was really the work of the ancient Britons." Agricola found them homines dispersos et rudes, and he exhorted them ut templa, fora, domos, extruerent. cap. 21. This may not suffice to prove they had no *templa* whatsoever, inasmuch as they had some *domos* of slight construction; but it does prove that, if any, they had only the meanest.

Druidism in Gaul and Britain were one religion, and almost one system; and the ædificia of both countries, Cæsar says, were similar. Therefore the whole argument applies to the megalithic works of both countries. Those in Gaul are passed over by the ancients, in silence as complete as those in our island. Other Galli or Galatæ, who occupied the Cisalpine country from the Var to the Rubicon about 612 years before Christ, in Polybius' time still dwelt in unwalled hamlets, feeding mostly on flesh, and sleeping upon the ground, with no furniture; and no arts, but war and scanty tillage. ii. cap. 17. Yet they had a ἱερὸν of their Minerva, a treasury temple, where they kept their golden standards called the Immovable, and only taken up, like the oriflamme, on great occasions. Those tribes left behind them no tradition of a megalithic religion. And no such system has, I believe, been traced to those three tribes of Transalpine Gauls, Trocmii, Tectosages, and Tolistobii, who founded the Asiatic Galatia or Gaul B.C. 278. Their general council met at the

Drynemeton, Drymenetum, Drynæmeton, or Drymæneton (Strab. v. 177, ed. Sieb.), which name of Drynemetum means Sanctuary of Oak Trees, einen Eichentempel (Adelung. Mithr. iii. 56) ; for we know from Venantius that Vernemetes [4] meant quasi fanum ingens. But there can be no doubt the common prefix *ver* was honorific and quasi ingens, and therefore *nemetis* was quasi fanum. So these Galatæ were true Druids, and did not meet on open plains in *nemets* of stone. After nearly seven centuries, St. Jerome assures us, the Galatians "had their own tongue, nearly the same as the men of Treves," though somewhat corrupted, as the Punic then was at Carthage. Lib. ii. in Galat. fol. 75, b. ed. 1534. But the Greek language was predominant, as in all the Eastern provinces. It will be no good answer, to rummage up some cromlech, or the like, in Lombardy or the pachalik of Angora, should any be found ; or to point to divers such in France. For where a mighty system is asserted, commensurate evidence must be adduced.

Specimens of this style are found in Anjou, Touraine, and Poictou, and in various other parts of France ; but Armorica or Britanny is the Gaulish province in which they are concentrated. That province however was more extensive at first, than subsequently. From Touraine Aetius expelled the Britons, whose early settlements had extended themselves thus far. And more recently Britanny comprehended the district of Pontorson, Avranches, and Coutances (a line of coast evidently carrying with it Guernsey

[4] L. i. c. ix. v. 9. This Vernemetes was the site on which Leontius bishop of Bordeaux built the church of St. Vincent Martyr. The same name, Vernemetum, belongs to a British station in the 8th Iter of Antoninus. Nemet was literally, *excepted, set apart*, and, in the second intention or *quasi*, was "set apart unto holiness," or fanum. Nemet, nameit, excepting, in the Armoric dialects ; nam, exception, namyn, excepting, Welsh. This word Nemetes for holy ground is precisely ἐξαίρετος and eximius, from the respective verbs of exception. Therefore it was, perhaps, by no accident that Venantius said, culmina—quæ—

> Condidit *eximio* consolidata *loco* ;
> Nomine Vernemetis voluit vocitare vetustas,
> Quod quasi fanum ingens Gallica lingua refert.
> Auspicii præmissa fides erat, ante futura, [res futuras]
> Ut modò celsa domus staret honore Dei.

and Jersey), which the Normans took away from the Bretons. See Delaporte sur la Bretagne i. 35. Ogèe, Abregè etc. lxxii, iii. Britanny and its islands abound in megalithic monuments, such as those of Teil, Rozel, Lancresse, Lokmariaker, Carnac, &c.: with the newly-discovered and interesting temple of Mont Hubè[5] in Jersey. That of Carnac[6] exceeds any of those in Great Britain in the immensity of its scale. Among the illustrations to Mr. Higgins's "Celtic Druids" are three engravings of this astonishing and barbarous structure.

But the central place of meeting for the Gaulish Druids was in the territory of the Carnutes, being the pays Chartrain or land of Chartres. The authority of the Carnutes extended over Rheims and its district. Had megalithic works been accompaniments of Gaulish Druidism, they ought to pervade the Gallic regions in a general way, but to be found among the Carnutes in that surpassing splendour, in which Britanny and Wiltshire do actually display them. But such is not the case there; nor near Marseilles, nor at Thoulouse, nor at any famous and recorded sanctuary of their Druids. The glory of that system is confined to a portion of ancient Gaul remote, insignificant, of no religious or other celebrity, and which owed its sole importance to the inaccessibility of its marshes, rocks, islets, and promontories, and consequent difficulty of subjugating its inhabitants; to that portion of it, which ceased to *be* Gaul, was occupied (as Sidonius Apollinaris hath it) by the "Britanni supra Ligerim siti," and soon after him adopted the name of Britannia. The system does not appertain to Gaul at all, but it belongs to the two Britannias.

Mr. A. Logan, Archæologia xxii. p. 192, quietly asserts that the Carnac stones were "deposited more than two thousand years ago;" and Monsr. de Penhouet's opinion is,

[5] This curious monument (for plans and a description of which, I am beholden to the talents and courtesy of Miss Esther Le Hardy) was almost entirely buried, and has thus been long placed in security from human mischief or that of the weather, without seeming to have suffered any in the digging out. It is complicated in its arrangement, and very remarkable.

[6] All such spots may be termed carnaue, stone-piled, but the site of Carnac was so par excellence. The remark has its use, to protect us from any romancing about Carnac in Egypt.

that they were a military trophy erected in honour of Hercules! But a solid antiquarian, the Count de Caylus, made these sagacious remarks on Carnac and the other stone works of Lower Britanny. 1. They were the work of many years, and are found either by the sea, or in districts moderately remote from it. 2. They indicate an established worship; and we are too well acquainted with the manners and religion of the Gauls to ascribe them to that nation. They were the work of some people who arrived by sea, formed a settlement on the coast, but penetrated inland only to a moderate extent. 3. They were the work of an ambitious people, possibly ignorant of letters, but certainly skilled in mechanics (forces mouvantes), and able to employ many hands in concert. 4. The people who erected them must have resided[7] a long time in Britanny. Recueil des Ant. vi. 386, 387.

Monsr. de Caylus seems to have felt, to what conclusion his arguments were leading him on, for he professes his inability to account in any way for the silence of all antiquity; but his mind either shrank from that conclusion, or from the opposition and ridicule its avowal would have encountered. He pronounces it impossible to form any opinion upon the subject of their origin; with this remark, "no one would maintain, that these monuments and those of England were raised after the destruction of the Roman empire." But that is the very truth which, from his own reasonings and others, I have adopted and maintain. Britanny *was* occupied by transmarine colonists, who gave it their own name; and never quitted it again. They came from a country, and from the only other country, that is highly renowned for megalithic labours. It was never possessed, so far as we can surmise, by any other maritime visitors. Therefore the foreigners who introduced this huge architecture were the Britons. The people of Britanny have preserved an oral tradition, that the key to the use of their Carnac monument and to the exploring of its hidden mysteries is to be found

[7] It were safer to say, well established, than long established, in Britanny. For a full possession, seemingly secure, and promising a long future possession, is required to encourage our undertakings, rather than a long past possession; a truth which is of daily example.

no where but in London; which implies them to have been British and not Gaulish works, and under the influence of some authority seated in the Greater Britannia.

It is apparent to every unprepossessed mind, that the Armorican structures should have no earlier founder (however much later they may be) than Cynan of Meriadawg, in the reign of Maximus, and latter half of the fourth century. For it has never been pretended, that any colony of insular Britons took possession of that part of Gaul, at any period anterior to the expedition of Maximus. No arguments that have occurred to my mind carry to it a stronger persuasion, than those which Britanny supplies.

The Druids came into such repeated and violent collision with the Romans, as to bring down upon their powerful order an almost complete extirpation, within the settled boundaries of Roman administration. But the Romans could scarcely undertake to eradicate a priesthood who governed the nation, without exercising hostilities against their sanctuaries. Their materials would have been valuable to the Romans for buildings, fortifications, or pavement of roads; while their demolition would have been a measure of policy urgently demanded. However the destruction of the Druidical sanctuaries is not a matter left to mere inference, as a probable incident in the destruction, or at least overthrow, of that religion; but it is a circumstance expressly commemorated by the best historian of those events. Yet his account of it merely states, that the "groves sacred to cruel superstitions were cut down." Tacit. Ann. xiv. 30. We no where learn that there was any thing else of that kind, either destroyed, or to destroy. Indeed our eyes behold that the Romans did not destroy the works in question. And we are either imputing to them a toleration which their historians entirely disclaim, or an imbecility in executing their purposes, of which they were incapable.

Of indigenous or British testimony to the Druidical origin of these works little has been found, but what is, at best, equivocal. Antiquaries seem to think that *Druid* was a combination of letters variable at pleasure, and not a word of any regular formation. For instance, Stukeley has a most

barbarous notion, that the *drich* in Rowldrich (as he writes it) meant *Druids!* Abury p. 12. The words Tre'r Dryw, Maen y Dryw, signify House of the Wren, Stone of the Wren. The wren was (like the raven, the eagle, and the sea-mew) one of the mystical Bardic birds; and so Taliesin says,—

Wyv dwr, wyv dryw,	I am water, I am a wren,
Wyv saer, wyv syw.	I am a builder, I am wise.—p. 27.

The sacrifice of the wren was a mystery which entered into Celtic Christianity; for it was customary in Ireland to kill a wren on the feast of the Protomartyr, and carry it about the country. Hall's Ireland i. p. 23. Munster Festivals pp. 85, 86. The death of the wren occurs, in a form belonging to high Bardic doctrine[8], in the legend of Llew Llawgyves. Cerig y drudion and y drudau, stones of the mighty or valiant, is a phrase of no ambiguity, and falsely cited to this purpose. What the first word in Druin Crunney may mean, I cannot affirm, but it shows no analogy to Derwydd. See Rowlands's Mona pp. 84, 85. 114. Borlase's Cornwall pp. 193, 4. The name of Stan-ton Drew, where the great stones stand, though called from its stanas or stones, has no reference to derw, an oak, or derwydd, a Druid; for it is known to be named after Drogo or Drew de Stanton (a descendant of Robert de Stanton temp. Henr. II.) from whom the Drews of Stanton Drew inherited the name and place. See Collinson's Somerset ii. p. 434. We are much beholden to these old records; for we have had here a very narrow escape from the Druids. All the quotations to this effect are illusory, even as to the fact. However they are equally immaterial, and illusory as to the inference. Indigenous traditions of the Druidical character of any work must be chronologically or otherwise explicit, to be any testimony at all; which Stukeley, Borlase, Rowlands, &c., are excusable for not having known. But as the Bardic professors called themselves the Derwyddon, not only in the 6th century, but in the 12th and 13th, no conclusion could

[8] That the mystic bird was a type of certain human beings is a truth, of which the Irish expression a wren's man, for a cock wren, perhaps contains the vestiges.

rest upon that word, if it were found in conjunction with this kind of architecture.

But say, the Romans warred against oak trees, and spared the cors and cromlechs; say also, that the people, when set free, reverted with zeal to those ancient haunts. And here we have a topic and a sentiment of enthusiasm, ascribed to the most enthusiastic of people. It is a sentiment which, existing, could not exist in silence; and every harp must have resounded with this tale of their remotest forefathers, these hoary monuments of aboriginal independence. But no, not a word of it. I do indeed remember that, in the Gorchan Tutvwlch, p. 21, the great cor of Amesbury is styled Hen-van, *the Old Place,*—

> (Shields were uplifted
> Round the brow of the Henvan);

but we must consider that this important poem was probably composed, as its similar the Gorchan Cynvelyn appears to have been, after the Cor Ambri had finally passed into the hands of the kings of Wessex. Their chief councils and solemnities were then, of necessity, transferred to *New Places.* Since they were new places, the other was, in language of affection and regret, the Henvan, although its positive age might not exceed one hundred and fifty years.

Internal evidence, from examination of the works themselves, has been offered; but falsely, and moreover fraudulently. Dr. Borlase infers their Ante-Roman date from the alleged fact, that "Roman ways cross and mangle *these circles;* and it can never be true, that the Romans would erect and disfigure the same, and their own, works." Cornwall p. 197. For this vague and plural assertion the authority is Stukeley's Stonehenge p. 6, Plate iv., where the Icening Street is exhibited, cutting off a segment from a circular bank of earth, that encloses two barrows, such as are therefore called twins. And again, in his Abury, a Roman road leading to Bath, is represented to have pared off part of a common barrow, and to have made a small curve to avoid the great tumulus called Silbury. Abury p. 45. p. 43. Pl. viii. Pl. xxvii. And both are insisted upon by him as evidences, that the road "is of a date posterior to our Celtic

works there." Mr. Rickman, however, while observing on Stukeley's "unaccountable inaccuracies of representation," particularly mentions that he gave a fictitious curve to the Via Badonica, in order to support his theory of the prior date of Silbury Hill. Archæol. xxviii. 401. So the argument, were it relevant, would rest on a forgery. But the form of argument is just this; that, because certain earthen tumuli existed before the Stratum Icenorum and other Roman Roads, therefore the circles and avenues of Stonehenge and Avebury were anterior to the Romans. There needs no answer to a fact which is indisputable, and to an inference which is absurd. But, as the grammatical antecedent to the words "these circles" in Borlase is "the circle of Stonehenge," and, in that same and several adjoining pages, the same words and their equivalents ("these temples," "such circles," &c.) are constantly used in the like sense; and as he neither copies, nor describes, Dr. Stukeley's plate; deliberate fraud lies at his door.

Mr. E. King in his Munimenta Antiqua, 1, p. 334, observes that Rocking Stones have been found in an unfinished state; and adds, that it is a proof they belonged to the latest ages of Druidism, even so late, that the whole superstition was put an end to by foreign invaders. The case was truly such; but whether in the sense he intended, or not, is another question. The principles, to which these structures owed their existence, were put an end to by the successful invasion of the Saxon tribes.

So the inquiry, why Carnac consists of eleven rows of stones instead of twelve, which has received some inexplicable explanations, may best be solved by supposing that it was never completed. Indeed the number xii was so vastly esteemed in Bardism, and the value attached to it was so curiously and strongly manifested, that I cannot, without some reluctance, believe the Carnac system to have stopped at the defective number xi, for any other reason than its want of completeness.

I will here succinctly mention Mr. J. Rickman's arguments (in Archæol. xxviii.) to show, that the works at Avebury were erected after the establishment of the Roman power.

I. They lie more handy to the Roman road leading to Bath, than is likely to be casual. II. The Roman mile appears to be the measure employed in fixing both the dimensions of those works, and their distance from external objects. III. The earthen circus or amphitheatre is constructed with such analogy to the amphitheatre of the Romans, as bespeaks imitation. To the moral difficulties, or those of accounting for the independent action of barbarians, on a mighty scale, and in modes the most un-Roman, in the heart of the conquered and Latinized country, he had no answer in readiness; and all topics of that sort remain untouched by him. We may probably ascribe to this deficiency the small impression produced by his valuable suggestions.

SECTION III.

Statements of the British Chronicle. Their incorrectness, but substantial truth. They are at variance with all the author's motives of prevarication, those of pride, and those of shame. The name of that historian, and his approximate date. The legend of Merlin is erroneously classed with the monkish historians.

When we see such vain hypotheses upon the date and authors of the Stonehenge framed out of the imaginations of men, we might suppose that history was silent on the subject. It is strange to find these things invented, not in defect of tradition, but in contradiction to it. The Brut y Breninoedd Ynys Prydain, or Chronicle of the Kings of Britain, informs us that the noble Britons whom Hengist slew, were buried near Caer Caradawc, in a cemetery adjoining to the monastery of Ambri. Merddin the bard soon after advised king Emmrys Wledig to remove the Giant's Circle from its site in Ireland, and set it over their graves for a monument. The Cor was conquered by force of arms from the king of Ireland by Uthyr Pendragon, and removed in ships by the aid of Merddin; who erected the stones upon Mount Ambri, in the same order in which they had been placed before.

We shall be led to conclude (from authorities higher than that insincere historian) that we are, in this story, somewhat wide of the reality. If the persons thus slain were buried at the place where they died, it really was their place of sepulture; though it was not then first erected, nor erected as such. But it is one thing to believe a tale precisely as told us, by parties interested, and dissemblers; and it is another thing to reject it altogether, and fabricate from our own heads entirely new histories and new chronologies. Ignorance of the Brut's pervading dissimulation, ignorance

indeed of every thing concerning it, beyond the mere surface of its Latin text, has fostered this spirit of presumption.

The 84th Triad speaks of the Cor of Emmrys in Caer Caradawg; and the 88th is that of "three mighty achievements of the Isle of Britain," "the raising of the stone of Ceti, *the building of the work of Emmrys,* and the heaping of the pile of Cyvrangon." The triads seem to be mostly of bardic origin, and are of a distinct value from the Brut. But neither the name of Emmrys or Ambrosius, nor that of Merddin, have any place in the legends of Ante-Roman or even of Roman antiquity. They are entirely Post-Roman names; and the former is only a Latin name adapted.

The native authors declared that the Great Cor was constructed in the latter days of Britannia, after the Roman emperors had ceased to govern her. They did not draw that conclusion from any reasonings or etymologies; for they neither used any such, nor had any pretensions to the capacity of so doing. It is assertion, not inference. They merely stated it because they were told it; and, I will add, they were told it because it was so. The traditions of mankind are primâ facie true; though obvious motives may raise the presumption of their being in part or even totally false.

National vanity is one such motive; and therefore the origin of traditions, which magnify the antiquity of national greatness, is to be regarded with suspicion and frequent incredulity. Such, for instance, would have been the case, had the same authorities assured us, that Gomer son of Japhet lay buried under those stones. The spirit of exaggerating antiquity was not one from which the Cambro-Britons were exempt; and it is strongly apparent in these very chronicles of Brutus the Trojan and his lineage. Why should not their Giant Cor have been sanctified with antiquity as well as with all other modes of honour, and have been made the glorious work of Brute, of Locrine, or of Beli Mawr?

The tradition which assigns it to the latest period of the British nation's existence East of Severn, and which shows that they had scarcely piled up their giant stones, when they

were expelled for ever from the land of their fathers, is one opposed to all their national propensities, humiliating to their nation and its antiquities, and at variance with all imaginable motives for falsehood. Nothing they can say will please our learned antiquaries. If they trace back the Trinobantes to the date of the Trojan war, we are shocked at such a distance of time; and if they own that the Cor Emmrys was only built in the fifth century, we pronounce it intolerably modern.

The notion of its being ante-druidical[1], not to say antediluvian, and the work of some Titanian race who have perished out of memory; that it was to the Druids[2], as it is to us, an obsolete relic; and that as such, the Romans neglected both the destruction, and the mention, of it; is but a desperate attempt to break away from the convictions that press upon us. That attempt is mainly prompted by the prepossession in people's minds, that Christianity did more than nominally, and in the usual acceptation of that name, prevail over the councils of Britain during the period of its renewed independence. But did it so in truth? If Gildas were silent or unexplicit, we behold, in part, the compositions of an order of men, the most famous members of which flourished while the Cor Emmrys was free and unconquered by the Saxon. They speak of themselves as a power, and too sanguinely for us to doubt that they were a power in the amplest sense of the word; and not merely individuals, tinged with some remnants of obsolete opinion. Yet even those authors, such as we behold them, do but lift from time to time a corner of their veil; it being their language, not of admission, but of boast, that their system lay hidden in mystery.

They suffice to dissipate all Ante-Druidic dreams; for they dearly loved those gloomy and stupendous sanctuaries, as dearly as the Druids had loved their haunted oaks. To

[1] They were the operations of a very remote age; probably before the time, when the Druids, or Celtæ, were first known. I question, whether there be in the world a monument, which is much prior to the celebrated Stonehenge. Bryant's Anal. v. 201. 8vo.

[2] See Duke's Druidical Temples p. 11.

suppose that the subjects of Vortigern and his successors would go and nestle like owls in the forgotten ruins of an untold antiquity, claim them as pertaining to their own æra, and make them the Sion of their harps, is to me an incredibility.

The vanity of the barbarous and half-barbarous nations who sprang up from the ruins of the Roman empire, either as conquerors, or as revolters, indulged itself by equalizing and assimilating their origins to those of Rome; which they did through Troy. Most of their fabulous histories are pervaded by a Trojanism, of which the date and first origin remain to be discovered. The British Brut y Breninoedd, translated into Latin by Geoffrey Archdeacon of Monmouth, and also (as it is affirmed) by Walter Archdeacon of Oxford from whom Geoffrey received it, and continued by their contemporary Caradoc of Llancarvan, is the most conspicuous and known monument of that sort of vanity. It is to be deplored, that the uncritical temper of his day led Geoffrey to render it with an easy freedom, instead of reproducing its words without change or addition. But, independently of its internal evidences[3], nothing can be more wanton than the surmise, that Geoffrey and Walter were its fraudulent forgers, and Caradoc their accomplice or dupe.

Additional weight accrues to it, from the character of Robert of Caen, Earl of Gloucester, to whom the Latin version is dedicated, and upon whom those authors would not have ventured to palm a vile imposture. The favourite son of Henry Beauclerc was certainly a scholar, or Geoffrey would never have asked him to correct the work, and season it so plenteously with the salt of his own learning, that it might be deemed his own publication (editio), nor have extolled his erudition in philosophy and the liberal arts. That this request was not confined to a revisal of Geoffrey's Latin style, we may infer from considering who Earl Robert was.

[3] Foremost of which I reckon that knowing and cunning Bardism, in which its author was deep, but of which Archdeacon Geoffrey in his original Merlinus showed himself purely and innocently ignorant. The light suggestion, that Geoffrey did not write Merlinus is (I hope) adequately refuted in the Irish Nennius, Addit. Notes p. xxxiv. note (g).

He was the bastard son of Henry [4], by Nest the lovely daughter of Rhys ap Tudor, the famous prince of South Wales. Robert Fitzhamon, the first Norman conqueror of that country, acquired the sovereignty of Glamorgan in 1091, the aged Rhys having fallen in the battle of Hirwaen Gwrgan. Dying [5] in or about 1110, Fitzhamon left a daughter Mabel his sole heiress, and she was given by the king to Earl Robert with all her possessions. This made him and his posterity Princes of Glamorgan and Lords of the Marches, of which domains Cardiff was the capital. Being the son of a Welsh mother; the husband of a lady, married nineteen years after her father's conquests, and perhaps even born, like himself, at Cardiff; and himself for thirty-six years the cherished sovereign of a people, whose ancient usages he restored, and who honoured him as a native [6]; it may well be deemed, that Robert of Caen was not a stranger to the language of Wales.

That illustrious man honoured the Brut with his sanction; and some few years after its translation, he sent a copy of it by the hands of one Walter Espac to Raoul Fitzgilbert, whose wife Constance lent it to the poet Geoffrey Gaimar. Nay, if Gaimar's words may be credited, the translation was executed by the Earl's direction.

[7] Robert li quens de Gloucestre	Robert Earl of Gloucester
Fit translater icele geste,	Caused this legend to be translated,
Solum les liveres es Waleis	According to the books of the Welsh
K'ils avcient des Bretons reis.	Which they had about the British kings.

And here I will note one circumstance to prove, how honest of purpose that prince and his clerks were, in sending forth this work. His grandfather Rhys ap Tudor had brought over from Armorica [8] the chivalrous scheme of the Round

[4] Caradoc, Brut y Tywysog. p. 540. Carte Hist. 1. p. 520. Williams's Monmouth p. 174. He had another son by the same Nest, named Henry. Girald. Itin. Cambr. 2. cap. 7.

[5] Caradoc, ubi supra.

[6] Great was the love for him in the land, because he was born in Cymmro. Brenh. Morganwg, apud Iolo (Mr. Williams's) Manuscripts p. 17.

[7] Michel, Chron. Anglo-Norm. i. p. 60.

[8] Iolo MSS. pp. 215. 630. 63. 448. It was established by him at Neath; and removed to Cardiff in his life-time, by Iestin ap Gwrgan. The Bardic Chair of Tir Iarll was otherwise called the Chair of Arthur's Round Table. Ibid.

Table, not previously known in Wales, and organized such an order or institution in Glamorgan; which was identical, or intimately connected, with the Bardic Gorsedd of the Tir Iarll. Yet there is not in the whole Brut so much as an indirect allusion to the Round Table; though Arthur's history is that portion of it, in which the text is acknowledged by the translator to have undergone some retrenchment, and received some extraneous additions; and though in Lib. ix. cap. 12, 13, 14, the subject seems to provoke the mention of that Table. Geoffrey was the subject of Earl Robert and his wife, and Monmouth belonged to their sovereignty of Glamorgan and Gwent (L. ix. c. 12); yet the freedom in his mode of translation was coupled with perfect good faith in the spirit of it, and nothing false was coined[9] even for the honour of Rhys ap Tudor, and of his family, his successors in the chivalrous court of Cardiff.

If the Brut y Breninoedd was not then existing in the British tongue, and known by its original name, it may be asked; how could Master Wace of Jersey in 1155 style it the Brut of Britain, le Brut d'Angleterre? He could not have done so, by picking up that word at St. Malo, and applying it to the Chronicle. For that word has not retained the meaning of history in the Armorican dialect.

But vanity was not more an object or study of that work than shame, and the intention to disguise and varnish over those peculiarities of sentiment, affecting the public policy and administration, which had existed in the British kingdom, while independent, and before its destruction; and which are apparent in its literary remains, as well as recorded in fact. That object was tolerably attained, by speaking of ancient paganism vaguely and commonly, and without allu-

p. 62. It is scarcely dubitable, that Fitzhamon's twelve knights of Glamorgan, who assembled monthly at Cardiff Castle, were the Round Table of Rhys ap Tudor.

[9] The objects of Rhys's Table and its Bardic gorsedd were chivalrous, feudal, and patriotic; and free from the spirit of humbug, which has been at work in the ages of revival subsequent to the ruin under Glendower. I believe it knew nothing of ovyddion, and coelbren, and Benwyll the heraldic King at Arms, and Rheged of Urien between Tawy and Towy; or of the cant of truth, peace, and philanthropy.

sion to any of the famous peculiarities[1] of Druidism; of Christianity generally, and in the usual way; and of magic and occult practices, either so guardedly as not to recognize their existence, or else in the usual way. Various instances of dissimulation, suppression, or insinuation, will occur to the awakened student; and some of them, in these pages.

The most memorable achievement of that period, the Gwaith Emmrys, became an object of this dissimulation; when public events had made it too famous to be passed in silence, like that in which the memory of Avebury lies buried. For it might be a mausoleum, but could hardly be a mystic sanctuary, where Christianity was regarded and administered in usual modes. But by ascribing the work to aboriginal times, could he have so done, the author of the Brut would have been enabled to frame what tale he would. He might have assigned it to Brutus, or the race of Giants who preceded him; and by so doing would have removed out of sight one of the greatest blots. The Post-Roman origin of the Cor was a truth, not only militating against the interests of vanity, but against those of dissimulation.

That Tysilio was the composer of the work in its original form, is attested as a fact by Mr. Gutyn Owen, a learned author of the latter half of the 15th century. A manuscript of the Brut Tysilio in his[2] hand-writing was lent to Carte by a Mr. Davies of Llannerch. And the copy in the Red Book of Hergest agrees in styling it the work of Tysilio.

There was likewise extant, in Ussher's youth, a book entitled Ecclesiæ Britannicæ Historiæ auctore Tyssileo filio Brochmaëli regis Powysiæ; of which book the history is circumstantial and curious. Mr. Davies of Llannerch left in writing, that, on April the 16th 1680, Mr. M. Lloyd told him that Ussher had said, that when a young man he had seen it. Dr. Price Prebendary of Westminster then had it. Dr. Lewis of St. Cross had it afterwards, and pretended he had lost it,

[1] The entire suppression of this topic of common learning may convince the most reluctant, of the dissimulation which governs this history. Four whole books of Pagan Britain, *without the word Druid*, without a human sacrifice, a painted skin, an oak, a misletoe, an anguine egg, or any one national peculiarity!

[2] Lewis Morris, Letter to D. Lewis in Cambr. Reg. 2. p. 489.

by burying it, in the war time. But Mr. Lloyd thought he had sent it to Rome, when he changed his religion. Cambr. Reg. i. 26, 27. Mr. Rowlands also declares that, in his time, fragments of Tysilio's Ecclesiastical History had lately been seen. Mona p. 155. The Myvyrian editors say, in the preface to their Archaiology vol. 2, that "there is no authority for asserting that Tysilio wrote any thing, but some poetry;" the complete falsehood of which assertion [3] is made sufficiently apparent.

Mr. Gutyn Owen is neither a recent nor a light authority. And every plain averment, not on its face improbable, is primâ facie true. Besides which, I see powerful reasons for acquiescing in this one.

For I have observed, that one of the most violent advocates of doctrinal bardism, Cynddelw Chief-Bard of Powys, after the lapse of near five centuries, looked back upon Tysilio, as a person of the greatest importance; yet cherished a hatred of his memory, as the founder of a sect or class of people, and of a mode or system of teaching, different from his own. In that nation, and as affecting Cynddelw's order, I know of no adverse system and class, of which Tysilio could possibly be called the founder, except the Trojanistic or pseud-historical; and one other, to which I shall presently allude. The Trojanistic method (for the most part) went away from the nomenclature of ancient Bardism, and from the open profession of its ideas; and was so little adopted and so very rarely alluded to by any of its professors, that we cannot doubt they hated it.

The pseud-historical system was, for its age and country, no mean attempt to salve the honour of an unfortunate people; and to hush up many extravagances, by which its ruin had been accelerated, and which could no longer be displayed in their old forms, as the author had coolness to see, though the fierce enthusiasts of the Celtic lyre had not.

[3] Whatever may have been their general attainments, they were undoubtedly familiar with the books which refute their statement; and we are left to conjecture its motives. Mr. Peter Roberts was led to dissemble these facts, by the infatuation which led him to believe the whole narrative in the Brut, and therefore to seek an earlier author for it.

Therefore, when the poet Cynddelw said to the men of Powys (p. 257),

> A copious bard sweetly sings your praise,
> A song without [4] separation, without deception,
> A lofty song without quietness, without silence [5],
> Not the detested song of the followers (cosgordd) of Tysilio,

I conclude him to have alluded to the fact which Gutyn Owen affirmed; and to the new topics, both myth-historical and genealogical, which the Brut Tysilio had furnished to debased and spurious bards. Had the poet been silent, there would be no reason to contradict Gutyn and the Red Book. And, had the latter been silent, enlightened conjecture might (I think) have imagined that explanation for the language of Cynddelw. That matters of mere taste and style were not in question, is proved by the word twyllaw, deception, if not by others.

It is assumed [6] in general, by those who admit an original at all, that it was in prose; but of that fact there is no sure evidence or testimony. Nothing can be inferred, from Geoffrey's saying in Britannico præfato *sermone*, xi. cap. 1, for those words refer to his first chapter, where he had said Britannici sermonis librum, and only meant a book in the Welsh *tongue*. Tysilio was a poet, and some of his verses are extant. The argument from Geoffrey's making his version into prose would be weakened, if he also made one in verse. But he says to the Britons, that he

[4] Tawl, separation, or breaking off; which may be taken in the sense of abrupt or interrupted, or morally, as for schism. The latter is the author's drift.

[5] A studied silence on special topics.

[6] However Le Roux de Lincy, Wace's editor, assumes the reverse, and speaks of "the Welsh poems which [Walter] Calenius communicated to him," Geoffrey. And adds, "I say poems, for I believe the narratives collected *in Armorica* by the Archdeacon of Oxford were such." Analyse p. 21. No reasons are offered; and the plural form of speech tends to the rejection of any Brut at all. But an editor of the Brut ignorant of the word brut (see the next note) is no authority on this point. As to Armorica, if the words *ex Britanniâ advexit* were genuine and Geoffrey did not end with *permitto*, still it would be certain to every careful reader of that author that they could not contain any allusion to Armorica. The same remark applies to Britannici sermonis in i. cap. i. The whole work does not contain one instance of Britannia, Brito, or Britannicus, per se, to denote Armorica. Having adopted that error in the Irish Nennius p. 30, I corrected it in the Addenda p. cxiv.

"prælia vestra
Vestrorumque ducum *cecinit*, scripsitque libellum
Quem nunc gesta vocant Britonum, celebrata per orbem."
Merlinus *vss.* ult.

He may have said *cecinit*, not loosely, but in its proper sense. For there were several versions of the Brut into Latin verse, of which two at least are extant; and one of them was written between 1153 and 1194. See Madden's Pref. to Layamon p. xl. This period is reputed to embrace twenty-seven years of Geoffrey's life. Master Wistace or Wace, translating the same work from the Latin nearly twenty-five years before Geoffrey's death, and so far cognizant of the Welsh original as to call it Le Brut [7], rendered it into verse without boasting of any novelty in the adoption of that form.

I am also moved to this doubt, by the colophon of Archdeacon Walter to the Brut Tysilio, "I Walter archdeacon of Oxford turned this book from Welsh into Latin, and in my old age have turned it again from Latin into Welsh." Notwithstanding the probable spuriousness of the concluding lines of G. of Monmouth, and of those in the translation G. ap Arthur, these words do not seem to me spurious. They

[7] The erroneous notion, that the Brut or History of the Kings (*Brut* nid amgen noc *Ystoriaeu*, Camb. Reg. i. 26) was called from Brutus, a Latin name of quite different sound, probably did not arise in the life-time of Walter and Geoffrey, and while the monk of Llancarvan was going on with his Brut of the Princes. Wace termed it Le Brut, which correct appellation his editor boasts of having corrupted, "nous ecrivons Roman de Brut (de Brutus) et non du Brut." p. 1, note. Geoffrey Gaimar, who translated from his namesake of Monmouth ten years or more before Wace, does not use the word at all in the portion of his poem which I have seen in print, but only says,

Le bon livere d'Oxenford
Ki fust Walter l'Arcidiaen.
Michel Chron. Anglo-Norm. i. 59—64.

Perhaps he may never have heard that word. This blunder cannot be brought home to Layamon. He writes the Trojan's name Brutus, and in oblique cases Brutun; and once, *v.* 957, he gives the English form *Brute*, while the title of his poem has no final E. His opinion on the word is uncertain. But Robert Mannyng called de Brunne, A.D. 1303, expressly derived the title of his Brut from Brutus. cit. Warton Hist. Engl. Poet. i. 65. I have already noticed, that this word does not appear to have retained the sense of history or chronicle in the debased dialect of Britanny, but only that of rumour or report, which it also has in the French and old English *bruit*.

are full of difficulty, but are of unlikely and useless fabrication; for they avow the book not to be an original, while the plain object of deception (and sole object, occurring to me) would be to profess its originality; and if a forgery, they would be a forgery admirably contrived to raise doubts of an original having ever existed. "A very likely story indeed! (says the violent Mr. Ritson) which however puts an end to all pretence of a British original." Life of Arthur p. viii. An odd story, no doubt; but singularly ill adapted, as he should have seen, to all purposes of deception; and consequently, a fact to account for by circumstances, rather than a statement to account for by motives.

People think, there is no Welsh from any other source, than merely from the Galfridian Latin. But, I am of opinion, the primary Welsh translator from the Latin *was* acquainted with the original book. For it is not possible, he should have rendered the Latin Arviragus by the word Gwairydd, which hath no analogy, instead of by Arwyrawg or the like, unless he knew that it was Gwairydd. In like manner, he could never guess that Walganius was substituted for Gwalchmai. But least of all is it possible, that he should thrice translate the Latin word Asclepiodotus by Alysglapitwlws, unless he knew that such was the name[8] in the original. And this last and most striking proof is confined to the Brut Gwallter o Rhydychain; not being adopted in the other versions, which simply give the Latin name. In like manner, he alone puts Beiysgalys[9] for Geoffrey's Livius Gallus.

The turning into Latin mentioned by Walter is, I believe, the very same that Geoffrey made "illius rogatu." For it is improbable the same man should employ a translator, and translate propriâ manu; and we know that Geoffrey wrote, not only at his suggestion, but in some measure at his dictation, and inserting (xi. c. 1) extraneous matters furnished by him concerning Arthur; and Geoffrey's book was placed under the protection and correction of Earl Robert, and was obtained by Gaimar's friends from Earl Robert himself, yet

[8] The true name was restored by Geoffrey from Eutropius.

[9] Bavius Gallus would be a better restoration of the name. Ei is the old spelling of ai, and Baiys is Bavius, if it be any Roman name.

Gaimar does not name G. of Monmouth, but calls it the book of Walter the Archdeacon. It is hard to imagine, why Walter should have turned it back into Welsh prose. The wish to incorporate his own additions on one head is scarcely a sufficient motive for such drudgery. A more reasonable one would be to convert a rhythmical effusion, into the regular form worn by European history, and a foundation for the Welsh labours of Caradoc. Thus we should justify the phrase "detested *song* of the followers of Tysilio," more literally, than by saying that any great mythus, furnishing topics for poetry, is Song. But the fact is unascertainable, from the absence of clear testimony and of cogent inference either way.

But Cynddelw bears other witness to the strange importance of Tysilio, again in the tone of condemnation, but in a varied tone thereof.

> **Tysilio, ardent in controversy,**
> ***Concerning my sanctuary* (nawdd) *declares far too much.***
> **God created out of the number of serpents**
> **A huge viper of excessive windings,**
> **The son of Arddun of ninefold honour,**
> **Who watched the fostering of his childhood,**
> **The son of generous-breasted Brochvael, defying the sun.**

This complaint and the former seem rather to oppose each other. But both alike inspire us to ask, what could this man, a poet among the less famous, and a saint like the others in the Welsh calendar, have possibly been doing, to bear this great but adverse reputation five hundred years?

I believe the Book of the St. Greal to be the object of this second attack upon the crooked serpent of Meivod. The conversion of the highest Bardic doctrines into the form and similitude of Church legend, substituting the gradalis of Joseph the Arimathean for the cauldron of Ceridwen, the legend of St. Dewi Brevi or Dyvrwr for Hu Gadarn, and so forth, was in my estimation part of the same general scheme and policy, with the conversion of pure Bardic mythi and secrets into the new and historical-seeming shape of the Brut of Kings. The object was similar in both; to become presentable in Christendom, by wearing the two respected garbs of its literature, the historical, or that of its Chronica, and

the sacred, or that of its Acta and Legenda. But, as touching the sanctuary of Cynddelw and the great mysteries thereof (to explain which is no part of my present purpose), I should fully agree with him that the Book of the Greal did indeed "declare far too much."

Now, as regards the date, the Greal was originally composed in the year 717[1] of the Passion. If this æra[2] be taken in a Bardical way, the Conception itself being the Passion (as in Meilyr Brydydd p. 192, col. 2. vss. 6, 7), that is the Annus Domini 717, and falls within the years assigned to Tysilio by the Myvyrian[3] editors, 660—720. But, accepted vulgarly, it is 750.

Tysilio of Powys, descended from Cadell the earliest prince of that line, is said by Cynddelw, and in the Pedigrees of Saints, to have been son of Brochvael Ysgythrawg, or Dentatus, by his wife Arddun. Brochvael commanded at the battle of Chester. Beda ii. c. 2. Galfrid. xi. c. 13. That was in 607, according to Chron. Sax. Matthew's Florilegium says 603, and Ulster Annals[4], 613. But the inscription in

[1] Helinand of Froidmont mentions the original of this French book to have been revealed to the Hermit, after the death of Theodosius III., and after the defeat of Chilperic and Rainfroi by Charles Martel, both of which occurred A.D. 716. So that the book he had seen was clearly the same as we possess. Helinand. Lib. 45. ap. Tissier Bibl. Cisterc. vii. p. 92. The quotation of Helinand in Vincent of Beauvais Spec. Hist. cap. 147 is incorrect in the date, and otherwise.

[2] I find it used by Sulpicius Hist. Sac. 2. c. xi. And Gregorius Turon. i. c. 48. 10. cap. ult. But in the last place it is called, equivalently, the Dominical Resurrection. Also in the Appendix to Nennius p. 118, Gale, the consulate of the Gemini, being that in which Sulpicius fixes the æra of the Passion, is *meant* for the year of the Passion, though lower down in the same page it is *called* the year of Incarnation. The two first dates in the Æras of the Red Book seem to owe their confusion to the Æra of the Passion. Hence the battle of Badon in 554 instead of 520, and Camlan in 576 instead of 542 (Cambro-Briton ii. 218) allowing a full thirty-three years and into the thirty-fourth. I believe there were two æras of the Passion, the literal or A.D. 33-4, and the mystical, or condescension of the Word to the womb and sufferings of humanity.

[3] The Cambrian Register had said, he flourished between 660 and 680, starting from the same year, but shortening his career. As the Myvyrians were greatly increasing their difficulties by going on to 720, and so acting against motives, they probably went upon grounds.

[4] They say the battle of Chester, where the saints were killed, was in 613. But, as they call the commander Solomon son of Conan, it is possible they may have confounded two affairs.

honour of Cadvan ap Iago (ap. Rowlands) confirms the date of 607. Brochvael was not young, since his grandson fell in that battle, or at least in 613. Ulst. Ann. Arddun's brother Dunawd Gwr, who was slain in 607 with the monks of Bangor, had been concerned in the war of Arderydd, of which even the vulgar date is 577, but which we can pronounce[5] to have occurred at least twenty years sooner.

Genealogy may have been well preserved in the heraldic ages; but in the earlier times it is extremely confused. Whatever reasons may tend to place Tysilio between 660 and 720, they are utterly at variance with his sonship to Brochvael and Arddun. But we may observe, that one entry in the Pedigrees of Saints makes St. Dona son to the same Brochvael, and another, son of Solomon, son of Conan, son of Brochvael; one makes St. Dogmael son of Caredig, and another, son of Cedig ap Caredig; and so forth, in other cases. Omissions from neglect, or the desire to draw nigh to an illustrious ancestor[6], may shorten genealogies. And sometimes there is confusion between two ancestors of the same name.

The Life of St. Melangel[7] says that Brochvael *was succeeded as prince of Powys* by his son Tysilio, and he again by his own brother Conan. But Conan's adult son had taken a lead either in the battle of Chester, or six years later. Therefore this Tysilio ap Brochvael probably attained no very advanced age, and was a different man from the Tysilio who followed religion and literature.

With the dates as given us, we cannot bring Tysilio nearer to that of Brochvael than St. Dona stands to him in the more ample of his two pedigrees. But it remains a remarkable fact, that the revelation of the Greal was made in some year 717, and that the vulgar year 717 is made to coincide with the 57th year of this mysterious character. While, if you take 717 to be 750, you do but add thirty years to a life of

[5] For if any thing in these dark affairs is rendered certain by the antiquity and consent of tradition, it is, that this bloody schism took place during the reign of Maelgwn Gwynedd.

[6] Alcides and Æacides are ancient filiations upon grandfathers.

[7] Cit. Camb. Reg. i. 27.

unascertainable commencement, and capable of extension, being only set at sixty years.

I have here occasion to remark on the essay of Mr. A. Schulz[8] on the Influence of Welsh Tradition; a work of too systematic a tone, extremely feeble[9] in the matter of Britain, but learned in the romances of Germany and France. It is one great mischief of systematism, that having set up our own synthesis for the target, not only reasonings but facts are selected or left in the quiver, as they seem likely or unlikely to hit it. And another is, that we sometimes mistake the form and limits of our own synthesis, and fancy we are within its circle, when we are aiming far without it.

Two of his positions are, that the legend of Arthur and his Round Table is no older than chivalry; and that the legend of the Greal is not older than the same, nor perhaps than the order

[8] Published, in English, Llandovery, 1841.

[9] This remark is not only justified by the statement, that he knows of no Venedoti in Wales, which leaves us in wonder, what book from Geoffrey and Giraldus downwards he could have studied, but by various passages in his Essay. We have not seen (he saith) the book of Gildas "de Excidio Britanniæ;" which is no other than his printed work, called by its usual title. But he adds, "Henry of Huntingdon quotes IT" for the twelve expeditions of Arthur. p. 10. The quotation is merely, "hæc autem bella et loca narrat Gildas historiographus." p. 313. It is well known, that the work commonly called Nennius, but in divers MSS. entitled Gildas, is quoted by H. Hunt. under the latter name. And if that were not notorious, it is manifest to any body that the bella et loca are in fact copied from Nennius. In p. 9 it is said, "here we perceive *the intention of Nennius* to surround the hero of the past with the halo of sanctity," though the passage in question is printed by Gale between brackets, as an interpolation, absent from three MSS. See Gale Var. Lect. p. 131. The acatholic and peculiar character of its contents have escaped Mr. Schulz's observation. With respect to Merlin, on which name much of his reasoning hinges, Mr. S. is so uninformed, as not to know that two persons widely distinct in many respects, Merddin Emmrys son of the Lleian, and Merddin Wyllt son of Madoc Morvryn, bore that name in different times and places; which ignorance (otherwise almost confined to Geoffrey's Merlinus) breeds confusion in this Essay. pp. 30. 34. 37. Cadwaladyr, Conan, and Albany, in the great prophecy, signify Britain or Wales, Armorica, and North Britain. And I marvel at Mr. S.'s conclusion that Conan of Meriadawg cannot be alluded to, because he lived *before* the date assigned to that prophecy. A man's name cannot well be used for a type of the country, of which he was the founder, until *after* his time. To suppose that all the Bardic allusions to Cadwaladyr and Cynan were composed after 1066, in reference to Conan II., appears to me a most wild theory.

of the Templars. That the chivalrous romance of Arthur is no older in this island than chivalry and romance, is in effect an identical proposition. But it is far from resulting with certainty, that no round-table or bord-cron of Merddin and Arthur was thought of, before Norman chivalry was imported at Pevensey. He, who can prove this latter proposition, may. But he, who thinks they are similar propositions, theorizes with no better logic, than if he inferred that Patrick and David were unknown in these islands, until romance had given birth to Sir Patrick and Sir David, the champions of Christendom.

Again it may be true, nor am I concerned to deny, that the knight-errant quest of the Greal, being of course subsequent to chivalry, was also little if at all known before that dark spot in history, the Order of the Temple. Of the French poets of the Greal the earliest is said to be Christian of Troyes, circ. 1170. Schulz. p. 58. But what, if he were so? seeing that he derived his matter from a book of unascertained date, given to him by Philip Earl of Flanders, as he himself states (cit. de la Rue, Bardes etc. p. 18), and as another poet repeats (ap. Fauchet, Anciens Poetes, Livre ii. p. 558, b),

> Ci est li contes del Graal
> Dont li Quens li bailla le livre.

This leaves the origin of the St. Greal mystery quite indefinite as to time.

The first German poem of the Greal is said to have been the Percival of Wolfram, in 1205. But he, and his distant follower Albrecht in 1350, refer all their knowledge of it to one Kyot or Kiot, which would read in French Quiot or Guiot. Wolfram calls this unknown author a Provençal. But I suspect he is so called in playful reference to Provins in Champagne, the birth-place of the famous Guiot; who was flourishing in 1181 [1], and is supposed to have been an

[1] Mr. Schulz asserts that he belonged to a later period than Wolfram's, but without adducing any evidence; and (if correctly translated) miscalls him Guiot de Provence. Guiot was both a French man, and a French poet. But this Kiot, though a Provençal, was (strange to say) a French poet. Parzival p. 362. ed. Lachm. No other trace or tradition exists of any such person. Fauriel Hist. Poesie Prov. iii. 289. 90. Moreover he is called a Catalan, Kate-

old man in 1205. To infer from such dates and facts as these, that the Greal was wholly unknown in Britain (not chivalrously, but wholly) until brought thither by the French romancers of the twelfth century, is shooting very wide of his own target.

The modes resorted to, for bending fact unto this theory, are highly unsatisfactory to my mind. Kiot (saith the Percival), the wise master of the story of the Greal, set about to search for it in Latin books. He searched the chronicles in Britain and elsewhere, France, and Ireland. "In Anjou he found the story. He read of Mazadan"—and of all his family down to Percival, and of the acts of Titurel. It will not be contended by any sane man, that Kiot searched for the story of the Greal, without having heard of that topic, and heard enough of it to thirst after it. So far from it, he was well aware at starting, that the achievement of the Saint Greal required "high qualifications and purity of mind." Therefore it had acquired celebrity, indefinitely before his time.

But, if not in "Britain and elsewhere, France and Ireland;" nor yet in Germany, which avows itself indebted to Kiot; where had it existed? In Anjou alone, of all the world? To me it seems, that the general idea[2] was established in France and Flanders; and that, what he professed to discover in Anjou, was merely a book containing the complicated genealogies and fables of the Percival and Titurel. The reason (I suspect) for specifying Anjou was, that Gamuret and his son Percival are made Angevines.

The case is such, even taking the text in the sense Mr.

langen, in the Parzival and Titurel more often (four times, I believe, for two) than he is called a Provençal. Kat. pp. 96. 229. 393. 408. Prov. 202. 388. And in one of those places he is styled the Duke (Herzoge) of Catalonia (a title, which I doubt ever existed), and in another, the landes herre. The notion of a great Provençal poet having first adopted the French tongue, and afterwards perished out of all memory, seems thus quite done away with. For we find him seated on the throne of the Counts of Barcelona! The whole appears to me a good-humoured and complimentary jest upon the old bard of Champagne, Guiot de Provins, whose acquaintance Wolfram is likely to have formed at Mayence.

[2] The reader can see, why Earl Philip's book, indefinitely older than Chrêtien de Troyes, is not mentioned by the Essayist. His insinuation seems to be, that the debased and complicated mythus of Anjou was the original mythus.

Schulz gives it. But the words are. "He read the chronicles of the countries, IN Britain and elsewhere, IN France and Ireland [;], IN Anjou he found the story. He read of Mazadan," &c.: Schulz p. 49; Parzival p. 220. The three lines beginning with IN convey to unprejudiced minds a list of the places where he *did* find the story; but the semicolon, put after Ireland, creates a disjunction [3] not existing in the words. Had he thought of denying, that the ideas of Sangrealism were known in the enumerated countries, he would not have put France among them; since Anjou was part of France or of the Languedoui.

Furthermore, this theory must needs get rid of Joseph of Arimathea, and his visit to England with his twelve disciples; for that is the legend of the Greal. William of Malmsbury, before A.D. 1126 [4], recorded those facts as the current opinion (ut ferunt) of his day. p. 292. Gale. Mr. Schulz copies the Latin of this into his appendix, omitting to mention the document to the same effect, which Malmsbury gives at p. 300. Yet, strange to say, in his text (p. 62) he states, that Malmsbury had spoken of St. Philip as apostle [5] to the Britons, suppresses the statement concerning the current legend of St. Joseph, and pronounces Joseph's journey to England an invention of the French and English monks of the *thirteenth* century.

Nor can I account for his omission of Melchin or Mewyn. Leland saw at Glastonbury an imperfect copy of Melchin's history, which stated him to be born in Cambria, and educated in the studies of the Bards. His book was more patrio vaticiniis refertum. He was understood to have represented Joseph, as buried at Glastonbury. J. Leland Comm. de Script. Brit. cap. 25. Hardyng, writing under Henry VI., several times cites him as Mewyn. pp. 36. 85. 136. ed. Ellis. This author likewise gave the story of the Saint Greal. Ussher Brit. Eccles. p. 12. ed. 2. Why is he omitted, while such an

[3] This, however, had been done by the editor, Mr. Lachman.

[4] His history of Glastonbury goes down to that year. Mabillon cit. Hearne in Johan. Glaston. p. lvii.

[5] Which is inexact, for he only represents him as sending Joseph, not as coming himself.

useless name as Baronius[6] is cited? Not from being unaware of him; for the same page of the Essay quotes (for what purpose, I cannot conjecture) a MS. oration of one Robert Wingfield, which must be taken from the same chapter and next page of Ussher.

It may indeed be suspected, that this was a Latin forgery of the Glastonians; and not a translation, more or less faithful, from the British. But I think otherwise of it. The ambiguity of the name, Melchin or Mewyn, not properly belonging to any language, argues a corrupted and not an invented name. The name intended by Melchin has been said (in a confident tone) to be that of Maelgyn Hir, a bard of whom a notice is said to exist in the writing of Mr. Llewelyn Sion. Iolo MSS. p. 77. Whether Hardyng had only read Mewyn by mistake, or whether it represents some distinct name, is uncertain; and may be it ought to run Mewyn [restored to its correct form, possibly Melwyn] bardd Maelgwn Hir[7]. But I prefer the opinion, that Mr. Llewelyn Sion knew even less about Melchin than his recent editor

[6] Mr. Schulz has *twice* stated (p. 62. p. 132) that Cardinal Baronius wrote in A.D. 1300! That famous historian died in 1607.

[7] Llewelyn Sion, in the 16th and 17th centuries, was one of those who were most active in getting up the system of the modern Chair of Glamorgan. This notice palpably confounds its Maelgyn with Maelgwn of Mona, King of Britain. The epithet Hir, his sojourn and death in Mona, and the mention of Caer Diganwy, are indications of that; but a stronger one is the assertion, that he conferred the lands and palace of Llandaff on St. Teilo, first bishop at that see. For it was founded in Maelgwn's days, and numbers him among its benefactors. Lib. Land. p. 111. Whereas Maelgyn is unknown to the Liber Landavensis. The same notice has also the silliness of saying, that Maelgyn was succeeded in the Chair of Glamorgan and Gwent, called from him the cadair Maelgyn Hir, by Merlin Ambrose! Is not this a pitiful attempt to transfer from Arvon to Glamorgan the famous "cadair Vaelgwn Hir?" Arch. Myvyr. p. 377. This document was penned by one ignorant of the chronology of the Ostman kings of Dublin. It is no doubt Post-Glendowerian, and belonging to the days of revival and humbug. Maelgwn Hir was deeply involved in the controversies and wars of the bards, all the more famous of whom lived under him; and this pretended Maelgyn was (if any thing) merely one of his bards, a bardd Maelgynig, or (as Glyn of Cothi sang)

"Un o veirdd o llys Maelgwn."

To such errors the want of a genitive lent facility. Otherwise the general silence of poetry and history concerning this great personage dissuades the belief in his existence.

(who *had* seen the name quoted), and penned his discreditable fable of Maelgyn with no sort of allusion to that author. With respect to the red cross with which St. Joseph adorned the shield of Arviragus, that has no doubt been adapted by his translators to the language of blazonry ; though I conceive the rosea crux to have been a symbol in Sangrealism, independently of heraldic ideas. The Latin book called the Apostle Joseph de Marmore or de Marmeriâ, explaining it to mean Arimathiâ [8] ; in which name we clearly discern a British original, preserved, but corrected, in the translation.

However I by no means infer, that this British author meant to say any thing about Glastonbury, when he spoke of the "Insula Avallonis." He may, or he may not. For that is a different proposition. As a Briton would scarcely care to adorn with legends an abbey possessed by foreigners, he should in that case have lived early, and as it were before 617 ; for, since the years of the British Abbot Gworgred are unknown, I have allowed him sixteen, as the average number upon thirty-five Glastonian Abbots. Lademund and Bregored, although they come before William's "Hi de Anglis," seem to have been Germans ; and I doubt his meaning that fact otherwise. But they were still "de Britonibus," because the Domnonian kingdom was still subsisting, and Beorthwald was the first ruler of the Abbey who owed direct allegiance to the Kings of Wessex and their Wintonian bishops. See W. Malm. p. 328.

But very likely this writer was thinking no more of Glaston in Somerset, when he said that Joseph de Marmore placed his treasures in the Ynys Avallen, than did the author of the Brut, when he said that Arthur went to Ynys Avallach to be cured, or Wace when he said,

> En Avalon se fit porter
> Por ses plaies mediciner.
> Encor i est, Breton l'atendent . . . .
> Tostans en a l'on puis dotè,
> Et dotera, ce crois, tos dis,
> Ou il soit mors, ou il soit vis,

[8] So I construe the words, Joseph de Marmore [al. Marmeriâ] ab Arimathiâ nomine. Johan. Glaston. p. 30. p. 56. Ussher Brit. Eccl. p. 12. But I am not sure the Latin translator was right, and that Joseph de Marmore did not mean Joseph de Sepulchro. "Noli nobile prætcrire *marmor*."

or Geoffrey in his Merlinus [9], Layamon in his English Brut [10], and the author of the Britannias or Cambreïs [1], when they described that retreat as an isle embosomed in the ocean, or William of Malmsbury when he composed his chapter de

[9] Walter of Oxford in his Welsh Brut subjoins, to the words "he went to Ynys Avallach to be cured," this pithy remark in his own person, "and more is not *here* said of the death of Arthur." But I believe he thus speaks in reference to the sources of the Merlinus, of Wace, and similar productions, not to the legend of Glastonbury. He probably died thirty-seven years before the imposture of Arthur's bones and epitaph. See Ritson's Arthur p. viii.

[10] This seems to bear on the doubtful question of Layamon's date. For his long account of the mystical oceanic Avallon, and of Arthur's aphanism, uncertain death, and expected return, (tom. 3. pp. 144, 5,) is in great measure an original composition, and not a translation of Wace's few lines, while the parallel passage (tom. 2. pp. 545, 6,) is entirely of his own contrivance. Therefore we must conclude, that he wrote them in ignorance of the great imposture of Glastonbury. That transaction occurred between January and July 1189.

Since the sorrow of Leicester (*v.* 2919) is fully explained by himself at *v.* 29861 ; and as the doubts concerning the perpetuity of Peter's pence, which he has added to Wace's mention of that tax, were natural to any man who had witnessed (what Wace had not) the events of Henry's reign, and are no otherwise chronological, than as intimating subsequency to 1165 ; I account the mention, in his Prologue, of Wace's dedication to "Eleanor, that was Henry's queen, the high king's," and the non-discovery of Arthur's bones, to be the only two points of chronology, not grammatical, nor relating to the progress of language. The cited words seem, in their more obvious sense, to imply Henry's death ; though they do not also imply hers, and I have seen the surviving widow described in documents as *quondam uxor*. Henry died within six months after the Abbot's discoveries. But they could not have long remained unknown to any ecclesiastic, who took interest in such matters.

Therefore one of three things may be supposed. 1. That he wrote his Brut presently after Henry's death, and before the news from Glastonbury had found its way to him. 2. That the Prologue, which enumerates the authors consulted by him, and seems therefore to be written after the work, was subsequent to Henry's death, while the account of Arthur was composed anterior to it. Or 3, that his death is not implied in "*was* Henry's queen ;" for Eleanor was a prisoner for crimes of state during the greater part of sixteen years from 1173 to 1189, and an author writing in the thirteenth or fourteenth year of her disgrace may perhaps say of her that she *was* queen, without implying dissolution of marriage by death or divorce. Of these solutions, the second is that which I prefer.

The year 1205, to which Sir F. Madden leans, because an edict against Peter's pence appeared in that year, is sixteen years later than the performances of Abbot Henry of Glastonbury ; and I cannot believe them to have been so very long unknown to the translator of the Brut.

[1] Lib. ix. cit. Ussher p. 273. I believe this is the poetical Brut addressed to Cadioc of Vannes before 1254. See Madden's Layamon p. xl.

Duabus Pyramidibus (p. 306), and when he said, Arthuri sepulcrum[2] nusquam visitur, unde antiquitas næniarum adhuc eum venturum fabulatur, or the Bard of the Beddau, when he said "Arthur's grave is a mystery of the world." It does not appear, at how early a time any notion of the fabled Arthur lying buried at Glastonbury was afloat in England. I cannot deny, yet I never have seen proved, its existence anterior to the great but palpable imposture of the Abbot Henry[3].

Nothing is so unlikely, as that William Somerset should in 1126 have considered Glastonbury as the recorded burial-place, and yet should, many years later, speak of that place as generally and totally unknown. Otherwise it is true, that the closing words of his chapter de Nominibus Insulæ, p. 295, "vel cognominatur de quodam Avalloc qui ibidem *cum suis filiabus*[4], *propter loci secretum*, fertur inhabitâsse," arise out of an adaptation of the Arthurian mythus to Glaston. But they also call into doubt, and hypothetically contradict, the whole matter twice before affirmed for fact, in the same and in the preceding chapter. For these reasons they are undoubtedly annexed by a later hand. Therefore I regard the Arimathean legend to have been of British origin; but as such, to have been very questionably a Glastonian legend.

[2] De Gestis Regum II. p. 468. ed. Hardy. The interpolation of his Ant. Glast. p. 306, is one of the most infelicitous ever perpetrated. For it not only contradicts his Gesta Regum expressly, and his following chapter on the Pyramids virtually; but it mentions minute circumstances which, even admitting a previous idea that Arthur was buried at Glastonbury, are not pretended to have been known before the alleged discoveries. And those were made many years after William's death.

[3] A confusion has arisen between Henry of Blois, Abbot 1126—71, and Henry of Sailly, who was Abbot in 1189. The latter was the author of this fraud. As Giraldus (Spec. Eccles. ap. Ussher) affirms it to have occurred in King Henry's life, it must have been anterior to the 6th of July in that year.

[4] Morgen and her eight sisters. Galfridi Merlinus, *v.* 916. The Morgana of Romance. But styled Damalis, i. e. the Heifer, in the Otia of Gervas of Tilbury. In the legend of Glasteing and his eleven brothers, the sow, and the apple-tree, affirmed by William of M. in the preceding chapter and in p. 310, two of the brothers are Morgen, and four others begin with Mor. In p. 295 Morgen is the second name, but the first in p. 310. This seems to show that he did not know or admit the story of the Lady Morgen (a form of Ceridwen, or the great female power), but I am deterred from alleging that as another proof of the spuriousness of this sentence, by considering that he might have known her as Damalis.

And so we remain without data for fixing the epoch of Melchin or Mewyn. Thus much, concerning Mr. Schulz's omission of that British author.

But I wonder no less, that he should never have told us that the author, not of the Parzivals, Titurels, &c., but of the Book of the Greal itself (of which the French version is ascribed to one Borron or Bouron[5]), states it to have been revealed to him in the Lent of the year 717 of the Dominical Passion. The epoch is far beyond all approach to times of romance and chivalry; and the æra is one, used indeed by the Turonensians Sulpicius and Gregorius, and used also by the Britons, but probably quite unknown to the writers of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

The First Part of the French volume (Paris 1523) is but little and superficially tainted with the leaven of Romance, and delivers with all the solemn blasphemy of a most earnest religious fraud, and as the direct inspiration of the Holy Ghost, the mysterious suggestions of the doctrine of the Greal. A discerning reader could not fail to note the characteristics of this revelation, and to distinguish their awful and guilty seriousness from the endless legends of trouveurs and romancers; notwithstanding some adaptations of it to the age and ideas of the French translator. Of the Second Part the whole is probably enough the invention of Bouron[6]. It contains the name of Sir Lancelot, a corruption of the Hungarian name Ladislas[7], and therefore not older in romantic tales than the death of St. Ladislas in 1095.

But the First Part is extremely pure, for that age of free and adapted translations. Nasciens (as Cerafle[8] was called, when St. Joseph baptized him) is Nasgen from Nascentius, like Pasgen from Pascentius, and it implies Renatus. Celidoine is Celyddon; and Enclach, king of Avallonia, under its name of Sarras, or city of Sarrazins (f. iv. b.) i. e. Pagans, is clearly a corruption of Avallach; on which two names I may

[5] See Roquefort Gloss. Table des Auteurs p. 758.

[6] And the translation of the First Part is, possibly, by an earlier hand.

[7] So used both at Naples, and in the dialect of the Vaudois of Piedmont.

[8] This name is formed upon afall or avall, an apple-tree; and it probably was Carafall.

observe, that the want of a genitive case, and neglect of the preposition OF, tend to confound British names of places and of men. Galaad son to Saint Joseph (Galath in the Triads) is Galaeth, the Milky Way; and he is no other than Gwydion ap Don, the great enchanter of Ceridwen's cauldron, for the galaxy is the Caer Gwydion. But when we come to the Second Part, with its second Galaad, the Virgin, the Great Sovereign, son to Sir Lancelot du Lac, we are aware of an appendix fastened on to the primitive work, and very likely having its solution in the proceedings of the Templars. And when we read therein, that Sir Lancelot saw the coffins of Arthur and Guenever in the chapel at Avalon, we know that it was penned subsequently to 1189.

The French of the First Part, or Revelation, had been seen by Helinand of Froidmont, if not both Parts; for he lived from thirty-four to forty years later than 1189; and he speaks of it, not as a recent production, but one possessed a quibusdam proceribus, and usually incomplete, nec facile ut aiunt tota[9] inveniri potest. He had never been able to borrow it ad legendum sedulò. Probably the want of entirety in most copies, whereof he complains, was the absence of the second and spurious Part. With respect to the origin of the word Greal or Graal, on which so many, and some such foolish, things have been said, I can see no reasons for doubting that it is the plain word so used in French; called gradalis, and explained scutella, by Helinand; and that it is no British word. The First Part of the Greal does not profess to treat of one vessel, but of two, the hanap or cup, and the escuelle or scutella; and of the sanctuary or great ark, made to contain them. And Melchin equally spoke of two silver fassula or fascula, that is to say, vessels. The French version of Part the First once uses Saint Greal as the name of the book, "Ici commence le Saint Greal," fol. 2, a, and so rarely applies that term to any vessel, that I know not if there be a clear instance except in fol. civ., where it is identified with the sainte escuelle.

It is of course open to any one to pronounce the date, 717 of the Passion, a fraudulent device of the thirteenth century,

[9] The word *tota* is omitted by Vincent of Beauvais in quoting Helinand.

if such be his opinion; but the date and æra are plainly written, and those who keep back the facts of a case (for that is my cause of complaint), must bear the blame of so doing. That Helinand, who had extensive knowledge and opportunities, could never find this work Latinè scriptam, may arise from its not having been written in that tongue, but in the British. The rhudd deill Aden or red leaves of Eden, in *The Wand of Moses*, are strictly conformable to the Revelation of the Greal, and help to convince me of its British origin; nor is the revolving island of the three elements (fol. 55) distinguishable from the Caer Sidin in *Hanes Taliesin*. It is however certain, that the Welsh Llyvyr y Greal in E. Lhuyd's Catalogue p. 262, (being, probably, that enquired for by Guto of the Glyn and Ieuan Ddu) was merely a mabinogi of chivalry.

The legend, that Tysilio was in conference with that great Druidistic magician and astrologer, St. Beuno ap Hiugi, *for forty days and nights*, gives a hint of some great machinations; it is the philosophical month, as well as the secession of the lawgiver Moses; and it agrees well with the lonely penitent, to whom the Saint Greal secrets were revealed on the last Thursday and Friday *in Lent*. See Life of Beuno, in the Life of Wenefrid p. 120.

Thus much is undeniable, that Tysilio's name went down to remote ages, as the founder of some cosgordd or class of followers, and the introducer of some methods by which the Bardic fury was in a manner quieted and silenced; while, at the same time, the new mode of handling matters became rather too explanatory of their nature. All this seems, to my judgment, true of the systematic Trojanism, or Bardism historized, and of Sangrealism, as we may term the Bardism ecclesiastical. At any rate he enjoyed a celebrity quite peculiar, resembling in its kind no other man's in Britain; and bards called Powys the Land of Tysilio. Gwalchmai p. 195; Llygad Gwr p. 341. In all which there is surely potent confirmation of the Book of Gutyn Owain and the Book of Hergest. If Wickliffe's name were otherwise known for nothing peculiar, but were reviled in obscure but strong phrase for setting up some sect, and using some obnoxious language; and if two manuscripts of a Lollard work were

inscribed with his name, all others being anonymous; we should consider these inscriptions as *explaining* the invectives, and the latter as *confirming* the inscription.

But, if the original Brut y Breninoedd is to be dated in reference to the ill-ascertained but early date of Tysilio, the whole story of the erection of the Gwaith Emmrys, by the reigning British authorities in the fifth century, is of no less antiquity. If in the absence of clear data, and especially of any that should degrade the chronology, we take 690, the medium between 660—720, as the year to work upon; that will fall just 148 years after the battle of Sarum in 552, which victory first placed the Stonehenge in the hands of the Saxon princes of Wessex. Until that year the Britons were in possession of their great Cor, and actually frequenting it for the same uses and in the like way as their forefathers had done; and bards were solemnizing in that place their Calanmai and Coelcerth, and other festivals. Greater use was made of oral delivery from the old to the young in patriarchal communities than now. And the degrees of tradition that are included within 148 years are few. For, if in the year 690, a man of fourscore years remembered that which his grandmother had told him when he was ten years old, the date of her narration was 620; and if she was fourscore years old when she told it him, and had become aware of it herself at the age of ten, she must have learnt it in the year 550, or two years before the ceremonies of the Cor were interrupted by the arms of Cynric, son of Cerdic. A fortiori, and with superabundant ease, may she be brought into acquaintance with others who had seen the independence of the Cor, and had witnessed its ceremonies, for he who was twenty in 552, was but seventy in 622.

But no man unwedded to preconceptions can believe that half-ruinous and time-worn piles, erected in distant and unknown ages, and cumbering the earth with their long neglected masses, could be mistaken for creations of the existing race and the still prevalent system of government, by persons who were living, as it were, in A.D. 550, and only 142 years from their earliest possible Post-Roman erection; or that any historian, living within two stages of tradition from the same

epoch, could venture to promulgate such a fiction in the face of general notoriety. To represent that work as a sepulchre or monument, which only became such by circumstances, and in memory of a disastrous occurrence, was a different affair. For it is a minor degree of misrepresentation, and concerning a time from seventy-seven to ninety-four years, more remote. The historian's statements (as I view them, both in themselves and in the analogies of his entire work) were much in the nature of an admission; and were only made in their specific shape, by reason of the general notoriety which precluded him from hiding more of the truth. The Cor, by describing it as a funeral monument, and a Christian one, was placed in harmony with the other cryptography of the Brut.

"Monks (said Sir R. Colt Hoare) may boldly assert that Merlin, and only Merlin, was the founder of Stonehenge." I know not how many of those who thus said or sang were monks; and possibly that appellation may, after a fashion, belong to the Powysian. But if we take the word *monks* in the way it was meant by Sir Richard, for the common scoff at the learning of the middle ages, the introduction of it but serves to show, to how great an extent the antiquaries of England were unacquainted with the system, the feelings, and the men, from whom all these things, both solid works, and words of boasting or dissembling, respectively emanated. These matters were no legends of the Church. But one source of the error lay in assuming, (against all reason, that I can perceive,) that the ecclesiastics who gave a Latin dress to the British history were themselves its fabricators.

There cannot well be a doubt that Ambrius, who is said to have founded the cœnobium of 300 men at the Mount of Ambrius, near Caer-Caradoc which is now Salisberia (it should be said, which is otherwise Amesbury), and Ambrosius or Emmrys, who afterwards placed the Great Circle close to it, are in truth but one person. The appellation of Main[1] Ambre for the Rocking Stone confirms that, since it unites

[1] The conjecture of Dr. Borlase, which reduced this name into *an bar, the top* (for *an* was *the* in Cornish), has this fatal defect, that it equally describes the top of every trilith, cromlech, tolmen, or cistvaen, besides many natural rocks, without in any way peculiarizing the memorable object to which it was applied.

the spelling of Ambrius with the formation of a megalithic work. The 84th Triad recounts the three cyvangors or chief bangors of Britain, Bangor Illtyd in Glamorgan, Cor Emmrys in Caer Caradawg, and Bangor Wydrin in the Ynys Avallon; and in each of these cyvangors were[2] 2400 saints, so that 100 were engaged in every hour of day and night in the praise and service of God. For which reason a similar Triad calls them cyvangans, *i. e.* perpetual songs. The Gwaith Emmrys mentioned among the mighty works of Britain is the same fabric as the Cor Emmrys. We must think they were no usual sort of monks, who frequented so grim a cloister. Indeed the Triadist does not venture to give to this Cor the name of Bangor, that term having in course of time become too ecclesiastical for it.

The hatred of the Ambrosian party (similar in sentiment, or nearly so, to those organized in Gaul, and whom Ausonius styled the Apollinares Mystici) towards the monks, or religious who adhered to the church dogmas, was undisguised, and breaks out in a bardic poem of true antiquity.

> **The Monks are a pack as of dogs in the Cor,**
> **From the contest between them and their teacher . . . .**
> **The Monks are a pack of the wolfish breed,**
> **From the contest between them and their teacher.**
> **They know not when the night and the dawn are divided,**
> **Nor what is the course of the wind, what its resting-place,**
> **In what place it expires, on what land it spreads.—p. 46.**

The dawn of the illuminati and the afflatus of the inspired were not recognized by those adherents of Catholicism. A similar effusion begins in this strain.

> **I will ask of my God (Rhen)**
> **In my inspired (awen) contemplations,**
> **What produced necessity**
> **Before Ceridwen?**

[2] This does not tell the real number; any more than does the 1200 of Bangor in Maelor. There 12 being noted, the zero digits are rejected; but in general the digits making 12 represented the number 12, being that of British and Gaelic chapters. So 7140 was 12. The 24 companions of the Round Table and 2400 choristers of the cyvangors make only six in *the sum of the digits*, or half of 12, but *the number* 24 is the double of 12; which halving and doubling seem to yield a bardic dozen.

Primary in the world
Was her astrology.
Ye barbarous monks
Why speak ye not to me,
Why send ye me no reply?
For one hour persecute me not.—p. 24.

In truth the language they held was so different, and they had so few ideas in common, that they could not speak to him or dispute with him to any purpose.

Whoever classes the fable of Merddin and Uthyr Pendragon in Erin with the ordinary legends of the cloister is very wide of its just appreciation; for it is of a distinct origin, and a very different value. But we cannot attain to a fair estimate of that fable, upon which the whole hinges [3], in this stage of our enquiry; or before we have compared it with some others. For the present it suffices, that an Ante-Roman or even a Roman date is denied to this edifice by the unvarying testimony of the Britons themselves.

[3] See the Seventh Section.

SECTION IV.

Difficulties of Construction. Whether naturally surmounted. Rocking Stones. State of Science. Its abilities great in the Post-Roman period. And in no other assignable period. The rudeness of megalithic forms does not prove their antiquity.

It is necessary to say a few words on the ability of the Post-Roman Britons to erect the more difficult megalithic works, because it will probably be disputed. But it is not incumbent upon us to demonstrate that ability, so long as we can say, that their ability equalled, if it did not exceed, that of any other age or generation. Surely it were a hard saying, to maintain that the tribes of painted Celts were themselves, or were descended from, abler mathematicians and mechanics than the Romans of the western empire[1]. The converse is too plain.

The history of the Stonehenge does not ascribe Merlin's removal thereof, into its present situation, to magical and spiritual arts. It describes them by a phrase applicable either to mechanical apparatus, or to the occult arts, suas machinationes. But, in so doing, its author followed his usual discretion and reserve, not his true sentiment. For every thing else connected with the origin and use of those stones was magical; and the bard Merlin himself was, in that history, as well as in all other memorials of his fame, an enchanter and diviner, not a man of human science and philosophy; and the order of Bards did not profess to have received from him any secrets, but those of mysticism.

The ancient ideas of the supernatural seem to me, virtually, to revive in those of Mr. H. Brown of Amesbury. For he

[1] See Inigo Jones, Stoneheng Restored, pp. 34, 35.

finds no natural solution of the problem in the history of the now existing world. Wiltshire, he says, will "evince in its highly curious remains the transactions even of the antediluvian world." Illustr. of Stonehenge and Abury p. vii. "Modern nations under the improvement of arts, might perhaps, so far as labour is concerned, embark in such an undertaking with success; but to Saxons, Danes, Belgæ, Britons, or Celts, it is inseparable from such difficulties in their want of means to effect the workmanship of Stonehenge, and in a motive[2] for an undertaking like the serpent and temple of Abury, as to deter every one from the pursuit, who requires a reasonable evidence." p. 36. But most persons (he proceeds to argue) will agree, that the stones of Stonehenge were selected from among those Sarsen stones called the grey wethers. They must have been conveyed thence either by land or by water. "It is not impossible for them to have been brought through Clatford Bottom over Oare hill. But to transport them from thence, over the numerous intervening eminences to Stonehenge, is what must appear unlikely even for the antediluvians to have effected; admitting their strength to have been proportioned to the length of their lives."

So says Mr. Brown, upon a careful inspection of the country. pp. 26, 27. It is to the Avon alone that we can look, as the means of conveyance for the massy materials with which it is erected. "That this little stream was once a considerable river, we may venture to pronounce from the flat that is left between its banks throughout its whole course, and which will appear with but little allowance to have been its original bed." p. 28. But in its present state, even with the aid of at least fifteen mills to keep up the water, the river is manifestly unable to furnish the requisite water carriage. Mr. Brown's conclusion is, that the grey wethers must have been floated by the earliest generations of men upon the waters of the antediluvian Avon.

His preference for the ancestors of Noah is partly founded upon their supposed colossal strength. The like notions are

[2] Mr. Brown seems to think we are well acquainted with the means and motives of the antediluvians. But I think the arts and motives of later races of men are at least as intelligible to us.

resorted to by Monsr. de Lamartine, to cut the similar knot of Balbec's erection. "I rather believe that these gigantic stones were moved, either by those first races of men whom all the primitive histories call giants, or by the antediluvian men." Voyage en Orient 2. p. 21. He offers this alternative, a gigantic strength of body, or a primitive superiority of intellect. The latter is gratuitous. But the former, though consistent with Rephaim and Anakim irresistible to other men in close combat, falls immeasurably short of such triumphs over brute matter.

The same misapprehension produced the idea, that walls or ramparts of a megalithic masonry were Cyclopean [3], especially the walls of Tiryns and Mycenæ. Those giants were nomades without towns or civil polity, and, so far from having a name as builders, they were reputed [4] troglodytes. The notion of their being masons and smiths does not rest on the slight foundation of Homer's verses 185, 186, but on the power ascribed to Polyphemus, in verses 243, 481, 536, of lifting great stones. Therefore masonry too bulky for the hands of common men, Seneca's labore majus humano decus, was ascribed to the gigantic hands of the Cyclopes. For the poets, or the logographi who succeeded them, confounded the *strength* which might help to move hundreds, with the *power* that can move tons. The former belonged to the giants, if that race existed; and the latter, to the Lycian engineers who came to Tiryns.

It is true that Mr. Brown gives a specious argument from the fall of the stones in a particular direction, indicating a mighty current of waters to have drifted that way; but those facts do not warrant the inference. For the shocks of earthquakes are horizontal, as well as vorticose. The three shocks felt at Colares in 1755 were all from E. to W. And a slight tremor of the earth may have occasioned the phænomena, shrewdly noticed by this observer.

[3] See Strabo viii. p. 540. Pausan. ii. 25. vii. 25. Eurip. Orest. 963. Elect. 458. Seneca Herc. Fur. 997. Thyest. 408. Aristot. et Theophr. ap. Plin. vii. 57. Lact. in Stat. Theb. i. 630. They were not, however, rude works, but wonderfully elaborated by art. See the Monumens Cyclopéens of Petit Radel.

[4] Odyss. ix. 400. And implied in Strabo ibid. p. 541.

In truth it is not ascertained, what human means the builders may have employed to convey the Stonehenge. The removal of the pedestal of Peter the Great over more than four miles of land carriage, by the skill of Carburi, and the resources of a vast empire, furnishes no parallel to any part of the case; unless so far as showing that rollers can move a rock. And as the supernatural hypothesis seems to me more plausible than the antediluvian, I have therefore said that the former virtually revives in Mr. Brown's inductions.

But this is not the only work, of which modern science has failed to give a good explanation. That remark applies more forcibly to the stones, one called in Cornwall Logan Stone, which I believe means Stone of Compact[5] or Covenant, and another, Maen Ambre, which in effect is Stone of Ambri or Emmrys, Stone of Merlin; called in Wales, Maen Sigyl, Shaking or Rocking Stone; in Gaelic Cloch-brath, Stone of Judgment; and in Derbyshire Rowter[6] or Roulter Stones. These were stones of vast but various size, and of no definite shape, the mere lifting of which requires a great mechanical power, which were poised on such a narrow base that the hand could rock them to and fro. Two or three instances of stones thus equipoised are mentioned in ancient. writers. One, as plain fact, at Harpasa in Caria. Pliny 2. c. 98. Two are fabulously described by poets and mythologists. The first was in Tenos, moved by the North Wind, and placed on the tomb of the sons of Boreas. The other was called the Gigonian Stone, but of unknown situation, and only capable of being moved by the herb asphodel. Ptolem[7]. Hephæstionis 3. p. 148. ap. Phot. ed. Berol. Whether these

[5] That is the sense of llog and its various derivatives. Dr. Owen asserts, that Bardic altars are called maen llog. Dict. art. *llog*. Though this may be nothing more, than the talk of the Chair of Glamorgan (see art. *Cromlech*), it is at least an instance of the use of the word, by good authorities in point of language.

[6] Derived by Mr. Rooke from the verb to roos, *i. e.* to move. Archæol. vi. p. 110.

[7] This trivial author, Ptolemæus Chennus son of Hephæstion, is quoted at second-hand by Mr. King, Munim. i. 328, as *Ptolemy!* Such inconveniences often arise from good antiquaries being bad scholars. Gigonus was in the Grecian Thrace, on the Thermaïc gulph, supposed to be named from Gigon, a king of Æthiopia in the days of Bacchus. See Steph. Byzant. But the Petra

two were fables adapted to two real rocking-stones, or fables merely, is unascertained; for nothing of the sort is found in Tino; and the last, in ignorance of its place, cannot be enquired for. Kircher has an account of two stones that sway with the wind, near Changcheu, and in Fokien. And Mr. Bryant had heard of another near Amoy. Anal. 5. 205, 206. Kircher China p. 270 cit. ibid.

Nothing clearly demonstrates these facts (so far as they existed) to have been the effect of art and intention. They were single instances[8], remote from each other, and not ascertainably belonging to any usage or system. If the shell of the earth has ever risen, subsided, or undergone concussions, that set in motion fragments of rock beyond all estimate of number, it is of a probability, increasing towards certainty with their number, that they should fall in every various way, and that some few should alight in æquilibrio, either at once, or contingently upon the subsequent removal by washing, or otherwise, of loose materials impeding the oscillation. Therefore we cannot pronounce upon these, and some other, outlying cases.

Gigonia stood by the Oceanus, and it probably relates to Æthiopia. Vide Iliad. i. 423. Mr. Higgins says, "the most famous rocking-stone of the ancients was the Gygonian stone, near the famous lithoi or pillars of Hercules in the Straits of Gibraltar." Druids p. 223. Here truth seems to be missed at every step. That stone is once mentioned, by one of the most worthless and idle of writers; it was not Gygonian, but Gigonian; there is no allusion to the pillars of Hercules; those were not famous lithoi, nor any lithoi, but steelai, and were described only in these three ways, as mountains, as islands, and as pillars of brass. The same author writes ibid., "Pliny says there is a rocking-stone, lapis fugitivus, in the town of Cyzicum, which was said to be left there by the Argonauts. This stone was first placed in the Prytaneum, a place in the citadel of Athens . . . . but, as this stone wished to return home, it was at last taken to Cyzicum, and fixed down with lead. Lib. xxxiv. cap. 71." This specimen is almost as perfect. There is not one syllable about a rocking-stone, but a stone which the Argonauts had used for an anchor; the prytaneum of Athens was not in the citadel; the prytaneum here mentioned was that of Cyzicum, not that of Athens; and the passage is in Lib. xxxvi. cap. 23.

[8] Mr. Akerman (Arch. Index p. 33) says "*they* (rocking-stones) *are* mentioned by Pliny as existing in Asia," and adds in a note, by way of an instance, "*one* at Harpasa could" &c. You might suppose, that Pliny was treating of Rocking-stones, had some name or appellation for them, and mentioned it in the plural. Then he proceeds, "and Apollonius speaks of *stones* placed on the apex of *tumuli* and moving" &c. This mode of quoting is indefensible, because untrue.

But the rocking-stones throughout this island were far more numerous, than to admit the idea of casual origin, for its size does not entitle it to many such, considered as fortuitous events. No less than five of them were found in the vicinage of Cartmel in Furness. W. Hutchinson in Archæol. ix. pp. 215, 216. Some rocking-stones bear the visible marks of workmanship in the formation of the tenon and mortise by which they oscillate. One at Brimham in Yorkshire has two tenons, or small projecting paps, upon which it is made to swing. King's Munimenta i. p. 332. This case hardly permits us to limit the agency of art, to merely easing the play of a body naturally equipoised. Some which were advanced in formation, have been left unfinished; one at the same Brimham, and another in the Isle of Purbeck. Ibid. p. 334. Their connexion with the megalithic system and religion is manifest. For they are not rare in Britanny, in which country one is computed by Monsr. Freminville to be of five hundred tons weight. Frem. Cotes du Nord i. 33. Finisterre i. 324. It follows in probability that their date (like the date of the megalithic system in general) is subsequent to the reign of the emperor M. Clemens Maximus. For again we have[9] a peculiarity of *the two Britannias*. See Sect. 2. Nay it was even found, that one of the stones (of course the upper one) of the trilith fronting the entrance of the Cor Emmrys, or Circle of Mount Ambri, was itself a tenoned and mortised rocking-stone. Wood's MSS. in Brit. Mus. cit. Higgins p. 224.

To suspend a stupendous mass, of abnormous shape, in such an æquilibrium, that it shall oscillate with the most trivial force and not fall without the greatest, is a problem unsolved so far as I know by modern engineers. The discovery of the centre of gravity could only be tested practically by withdrawing the artificial supports; and the headlong fall of the fearful mass would occur again and again, unassignably often ere success could be looked for even in one solitary instance.

[9] I have not read much about them in Ireland; but Gibson's Camden mentions a curious one at Clunmany in Donegal, being a sort of pyramid with the small end downwards, and called the magairle (an indelicate word) of Finn Mac Cuill. ii. 36.

And there are cases where the rocking-stone stands on an elevation of difficult access. Borlase p. 180, and pl. xi. Mr. Higgins observed, "there is, as I conceive, only one way of accounting for many of the rocking-stones, which appear to be so far natural as to have remained in their present situations, which is that the Druids had the art of cutting the bottoms away, in so ingenious a way, as to produce the rocking effect." Druids p. 224. According to this opinion, the right way to poise a rocking-stone is to know how. Nor have other writers carried the matter much farther than his solemn truism. The difficulty may be imagined, from considering what Lysippus of Sicyon, by unexplained means, actually did. He set up a colossal statue of forty cubits, "which would move to the hand, but which no storm would throw down. The artist is said to have provided for that, by placing a column against a small open space, through which the wind was most to be apprehended." Pliny xxxiv. 18. In this instance, wonderful as it is, the mass was symmetrical and artificial, and the wind was not fairly encountered.

Strabo's account of Cape St. Vincent deserves observation, and perhaps requires explanation. Lib. iii. p. 180. Ephorus had falsely stated, that Hercules had there a temple; but there was neither temple nor altar. There were only groups of three or four stones lying together (συγκεῖσθαι), and those who visited the spot turned them about (στρέφεσθαι) according to the custom of the country, and falsely pretended that they turned themselves about, μεταφέρεσθαι. It was not lawful to visit the place by night, as the gods were then present. It is evident that the deception was practised during the night. Hereupon I remark, 1. That the description relates to change of position, not to oscillation. 2. That the statements were false, and the pretended movement an imposture, whereas in rocking-stones every thing is true. 3. That there is no intimation of great magnitude, to which the nature of the deception is opposed. And therefore I suppose these groups of stones to have been neither megalithic, nor rocking. Indeed there is no hint of their being placed one upon another.

The ancient existence of artificial rocking-stones, properly

so called, is as yet insufficiently proved. Those in America [1] have not been shown to be in any degree artificial, and cannot be shown to have been ancient in any other sense, than perhaps as preceding the European colonies. If any doubts have been felt, not only as to the art, but as to the agency, which produced these marvels, they will be justly derided by those who can show a theory less credulous, and more conformable to our experience; but until some clear light is thrown upon the subject, and till some one comes forward to do the trick, or else to prove that art never did it, a mysterious uncertainty will continue to linger in the minds of men. But (to return from this wonderful topic, to our more general enquiry) the question of ability refers solely to human power; and speculations, that carry us out of nature, travel out of that question; which narrows itself into the comparative ability, first of the age, and then of the country.

The decline of liberty and just government does not impair either the exact, or the physical, or the purely metaphysical, sciences; or the more exact portions of philology, such as grammar and technical rhetoric, in the same way as it does the moral and imaginative studies. Discoveries in science are a possession external to the man, and not easily lost; but excellence in the latter, whether in performing, or in appreciating performances, is a quality of the man himself, which too readily evaporates and is lost. In the objectivity of science we see its inferior character, but also, and consequently, its more robust constitution. That mind can apprehend the positive, which can no longer idealize the beautiful and perfect. Also the same jealousy of rulers which stifles free sentiment, does not fetter, but often encourages, those arts which minister to its strength in war, and its splendour at

[1] The number alluded to as existing in the North-Eastern states of N. America requires fuller verification, than I have seen; "three or more" being spoken of in New York, two in Massachusetts, and two in New Hampshire. The majority of them have not been clearly attested. Nothing has been adduced, from whence to infer human agency in any. See Jacob Green in Journal of Science and Arts vi. p. 253. J. Finch ibid. vii. p. 157. Morse's Amer. Geogr. p. 304. ed. 1794. The American part of the question, as well as the whole subject generally, demands an efficient and close examination.

home. In fact, that decline of letters which began under the earliest successors of Augustus did not extend to the sciences; which rather grew under the empire, in spite of its troubles and corruptions. Amid the prostration of poetry, history, and oratory, arose Ptolemy and Galen.

Very little before the time to which we must bring down the megalithic labours of Britain and Armorica, Pappus the mathematician was flourishing; and many years later Boethius obtained renown for his curious mechanical inventions. See Cassiodorus Epist. Var. i. 45. Another generation brings us to the works of Justinian, and to the mechanicians, engineers, and architects of that great epoch of construction (Anthemius of Tralles, Isidore of Miletus, &c.), while Alexander of Tralles was bearing high the banner of Galen. Alchemy had been busy from the days of Diocletian; and the legends of Proclus Lycius, or some other Proclus, his self-igniting sulphur, and his burning glasses (whatever was their basis of fact), show what powers were reputed to be then existing and known. Anthemius had learnt to use, though not to regulate, the power of steam. See Milizia Mem. degli Architetti Libro II. It was yet a century and a half, ere Callinicus of Heliopolis perfected the Feu Gregeois. There certainly never existed a period, in which this island was independent, at all comparable for the resources of mechanical and other science, to that period which followed its dependence on the house of Theodosius, and preceded its subjugation by the Germans of the Elbe.

But the particular ability of Roman Britannia was not inferior to that of other provinces, and perhaps was considerably greater. From the days of Diocletian it had been rising into consequence, had maintained the local empire of Carausius and Allectus, had been cherished by Constantius and Constantine the Great, and had furnished to the continent the powerful Tyranni, Maximus, and Constantinus, from whom it finally resumed its independence. It had long been an exporting country, upon whose redundant harvests the Roman government relied for supplies, the annona a Britannis sueta transferri, ἡ ἐκ τῆς Βρεταννικῆς νήσου σιτοπομπία. Julian sent 800 ships to fetch him British corn; and he himself

mentions "ships from the land of Britain" as words equivalent to ships laden with grain. Ammian. xviii. 2. Eunapius Exc. Leg. Zosimus iii. 5. Juliani Ep. ad S. P. Q. Athen. p. 279.

One other circumstance merits observation. The factions and rivalities of the Lower Empire made exiles or fugitives of many able men, to whom the rising barbarian powers offered an asylum. So the physician Eudoxius, a man pravi sed exercitati ingenii, sought refuge with the Hunns. Tironis Chron. in 448. But from the year 408 Britain, now separated, offered a choice asylum, among the flourishing cities of a Roman people, yet out of the Roman jurisdiction; and it cannot but have been often resorted to.

That Britain was then fully equal to the other provinces would not be at all questioned; were it not for a popular notion, that it was, during its independence, ruined by the Scots and Picts: and was nearly desolated when the Saxons obtained it. But there is no truth in that opinion. Gildas wrote less than a century after the first coming of the Saxons, and knew whatever the documents then existing, and a brief immediate tradition, could tell. The state of the country, after the three Scoto-Pictish vastationes, is thus described by him. "But when the devastation ceased, the island overflowed with such abundance of plenty, that no past age bore record of any such; together with which every kind of luxury grows up. And it did spring up with a powerful growth, so that it was fairly said at that time, *such fornication is reported*[2], *as is not among the Gentiles.* And not only that vice, but all others incident to human nature, and especially that which even now overturns the establishment of all goodness in it [the island], the hatred of truth and its assertors, and the love of falsehood and its fabricators, the adoption of evil for good, the veneration of wickedness instead of benevolence, the desire of darkness instead of the Sun, the reception of Satan for an angel of light. Kings were anointed, not by God, but those who were more cruel than others; and soon after were slain by the anointers, not upon an enquiry of the truth, others yet fiercer being elected." Gildæ Epist. cap. 19.

[2] 1 Cor. cap. 5.

Now, to what date does this picture of great and abused prosperity refer? To a time, if the common text be true, *subsequent* to the third consulship of Aetius, or 446. For *during* that year his style was tertium consul, and not ter consul till afterwards. But it was sometime prior to the invitation of the Saxons in 449. By this reckoning, we have to compress into less than three years, a season of famine and distress; a period of successful resistance, compelling the retirement of the barbarians; a recovery of wealth and prosperity, carried up to their highest point; luxury and vice thereby engendered; renewed calamities and unsuccessful war; and finally the resolution to invite the Saxons! Matters, for the evolving of which twenty years were no prodigal allowance of time. It is manifest, that the supplication to Aetius was made at a much earlier period than his third consulship; and that the word ter in "Aetio ter consuli" is spurious, and inserted ex post facto[3]; which more fully appears from several MSS. of Gildas, which omit that word[4]. The supplication Aetio Consuli properly belongs to his first consulship, that is, to some part of the year 432, being seventeen years anterior to the introduction of the Saxons, and five years after the departure of Gallio.

But we must not think ourselves limited to those years; or that Britain had suffered any general desolation, before that period of prosperity and luxury. The scene of the three great Vastationes is laid in the region of the Walls. The difficulty of maintaining the earthen vallum of Antonine and Theodosius, ascertained in the two first Vastations, led to the great work of Gallio Ravennas, reconstructing the Severian vallum in solid masonry. The ground lost in the two first inroads was the intermural province of Valentia; and the disaster of the third vastation was the forcing of the lower wall, which exposed Cumberland, Durham, etc., to the savages. But it has never been pretended that they assailed the walls of Eboracum. The strong language in which these

[3] Aetius was only ter consul; for his unfinished consulate, in which he was put to death, was entered in the Fasti simply Aetio et Studio, not Aetio quartum et Studio.

[4] Vide Usher Brit. Eccles. Ant. p. 199. Londini.

ravages are described has relation to the northern districts, and no towns are said to have been taken, except such fortresses as were connected with the Wall, relictis civitatibus muroque celso. The Irish coracles landed their bands in the intermural parts, from whence they, with the Pict inhabitants of the island, marched southwards. The only mention of the southern parts is in the second Vastatio, after which it is said that towers were erected on the southern coast for fear of an attack, quia et inde barbaricæ feræ bestiæ timebantur; but it is not stated, that those apprehensions were verified. Gildas cap. 14.

Courage was so equally distributed among the Romans and their provincials, that the want of unanimity among the islanders must really have been the cause of ruin to Valentia and part of Maxima; as the same want finally ruined Britain. Augebantur externæ clades domesticis motibus. Gild. 16. But the succeeding exuberance of prosperity, combined with luxury, implies the cessation of that fatal discord. Arising out of the division of the people into the Latin or provincial and the Celtic or primitive, and subdivided into all the constitutional anarchy of Celtic government, it could not by any slight causes have been lulled into such a calm and prosperity.

Faith and zeal are almost the only adequate causes. And those causes had come into operation. For if the faith and zeal described by Gildas had been unsettled and multiform, the jarring of sects and schisms would have aggravated their internal divisions, and rendered prosperity and luxury more remote than ever. Therefore the sentiments described by him were of some one kind, inspiring a systematic zeal, deterring opposition, silencing doubts, and operating (for the time) as a bond of union. Yet they were such as he (a catholic divine, when he wrote this) termed a hatred of the truth, a love of falsehood and its fabricators, and an acceptance of Satan for an angel of light. It is difficult to avoid inferring, that a spirit of religion materially distinct from the Christian flourished in this island when the Emperors of Rome had relinquished it; its show of conformity to Christianity being expressed in those memorable words of Gildas,

non gentium diis *perspicuè* litant; and also that it was so fervently cherished in its early days, and became so strongly organized, as to account for its inspiring united energies and leaving great monuments behind it.

I am bound to observe that Gildas straightway adds that, in this æra of splendour and sin, "kings were anointed, not through God," and subjoins, that ere long they were arbitrarily put to death; which detracts from the idea of internal union. But the solution lies in one important phrase, paulo post *ab unctoribus* non pro veri examinatione trucidabantur; which *anointers* do not mean the people, but an hierarchal authority, prevalent in those days. So that there *was* a central power, strong for a season, as men are in fever and in madness. Had the Unctor, in Guelfic days, made good his claim to set up and put down what princes he chose, would the resources of Europe have been more, or less, available for erecting glorious temples? Incomparably more so.

The case requires an advanced state of human science, considerable resources existing in the country, the independent use of them, and a public mind of great and energetic aberration. And these requisites are no where united, except in that interregnum of British independence. Mr. Rickman, in Archæol. xxviii. p. 407, asserts the inability of the unconquered Britons to produce the workmanship seen at Stonehenge with celts of mixt metal, and, till it is shown that they had better tools, I cannot answer his argument; which is equally applicable to the rocking-stones.

Indeed such great and united energies of the mind, in some line of fanatical error, seem necessary to remove our moral difficulties; necessary, that is, not only for the means of performance, but for the motives of it. That moral objection can indeed be met, a posteriori, by showing that these works were in fact revered, on religious grounds, for six or seven ages subsequent to the latest epoch of their foundation. But the evidences a priori, which tend (as doth the testimony of Gildas) to prove a new moral working in the times we speak of, and shortly before that epoch, may, from their positive shape, appear stronger to many minds; although they cannot all boast the high date and authority of Gildas. And they

are, indeed, worthy of mention. We find such accounts of a backsliding or apostasy from Christianity, following its introduction into these islands, as I scarcely know in what other country of Europe.

We read in the Life of Gildas himself, that he was invited to Ireland "because nearly all in that island had relinquished the catholic faith," and again in stronger words, "because all from the greatest to the least had entirely lost the catholic faith." Acta SS. Benedict. i. 138. This writer is said by Mabillon to have flourished shortly after A.D. 1000. And his words do clearly not describe a return to their original paganism, without the name and semblance of Christianity, and a "perspicuous litation to the gods of the Gentiles." Therefore they coincide with Gildas' own description of the Britons.

It is said in the Life of St. Kentigern by Jocelyn of Furness, that Rhydderch Hael, the king of Cumbria and Strathclyde, invited that saint into his country to revive in it the Christianam religionem penè deletam. Cap. 30. But the curious legends of that prince's reign, most memorable in the annals of Bardism, give us no hint of either the Cumbrians, or the Caledonian Picts of Clydesdale, being pagans. They exhibit the struggles both controversial and warlike between him, supported by Maelgwn king of Britain, and aided by the clergy, and the fanatic Bardists under the famous Merlin of Caledonia or Merddin Wyllt, supported in controversy by Taliesin and all the Beirdd Beli, and in war by many small princes of the North. The system of Merddin ap Madoc Morvryn was described by Jocelyn (and justly) as a nearly total subversion of Christianity. But it was heresy of an apostatical character, not a simple apostasy, and retained the name of Christianity with some of its language. Merddin calls himself, or the antique bard who writes in his name calls him, "the Half-Believer."

> Glory to the sanctuary, the nest of the Half-Believer[5],
> Housed in the wide wilderness, and a wretched beast of chase.

But the most remarkable averment I have seen, of the

[5] Dyrchavawd llogawd, nid yr lledcred. Hoianau st. 2.

organized apostasy of the Half-Believers, is that of Caradoc of Llancarvan, lately printed from E. Williams's compilations. It states that in the time of Constantine one Morien ap Argad, the most learned Bard in the world, denied baptism and the sacrifice of the body of Christ, and deluded the Britons into those sentiments, so that they all became unbaptized Jews. Iolo MSS. p. 43. These events are assigned to the year 380, which really was forty-three years after Constantine's death. And in 390 Constantine and St. Martin are said to have opposed the doctrines of Morien in Britain and Italy. In 425 it is said, Germanus came hither to restore baptism and the sacrifice of the altar. But we know his ostensible business was against the Pelagians under Agricola.

The famous Pelagius, a learned Roman born in this island, was surnamed Brito in order (as S. Augustin[6] thought) to distinguish him from Pelagius of Tarentum ; and nothing is known of his ever teaching or residing in Britain. But it is the fashion of the modern Welsh to represent him as a Celt from their western part of the country, by name Morgen or Marigena, and therefore called Pelagius. I think we have this pretended Morgen, misnamed, as well as misdated, in the Morien[7] of Caradoc. How far misnamed, may be a question; for when I see Urbgen[8] written for Urien (which I suppose represents Urbigena), I cannot say that Morien for Morgen is entirely devoid of analogy. Yet we cannot wonder if Caradoc failed to recognize Pelagius in such a dress.

But the Morienic mythus does not end thus. We have this mutilated entry in the Achau Saint. "*Morgan* the "heretic in 405, [the same] in Britain in 425. Germanus "and Lupus in 427. Mor son of Morien brought baptism and "faith, but *would not* (or *could not*, ni ddygai) bring baptism "into Gwynedd. For the first [who did so] was Gwydion,

[6] Ut credimus. Ep. 106 ad Paulinum.

[7] Mr. Tal. Williams quotes two *words* of Gwilym Ddu (Morien ddysg) in order to insinuate, that this Morien's learning was remembered among the Bards ; and I will illustrate that proceeding by giving two *lines*, as I understand them.

Comely Griffith is a sheltering benefit to the host,
Skill'd as Morien to give the strong-spear'd career in the lists. p. 410.

He of course alludes to the warrior Morien of Aneurin, pp. 6. 8. 14.

[8] Galfrid. Monum. ix. c. 12. x. c. 6. c. 9. Nennius a Gale p. 117.

" son of Don king of Lochlin, who was king of Gwynedd " when the Irish were masters of Gwynedd. And after that, " Mor went to Rome and Jerusalem. St. Germanus ——." Iolo p. 146. But a triplet is published in p. 263, from which it would seem as if the proceedings of Mor were not thus distinct from those of Gwydion.

> Gwydion son of Don Rhen established,
> By the counsel of Mor ap Morien,
> Predestination in the land of Gwynedd.

That, as it is well known, was the extreme of opposite doctrine, to which Augustine and other Latin Fathers resorted in their contest with Pelagius. And another says, that,

> Mor ap Morien established the privilege
> Of equality in the land of Cymmru,
> Freedom of ploughing, and the faith of the saints.

The first heretical suggestions of Pelagius are assigned by Ussher to about the year 405. But the same Chronologer assigns to the year 407 the proclamation in Britain of the emperor or tyrant Constantinus. No doubt remains[9], that this historical Constantinus and his son Constans Monachus are the same Constantinus and his son Constans Monachus who figure in the fable of Vortigern as his predecessors, and to whom (respectively) Aurelius Ambrosius and Uthyr Pendragon were sons and brothers. Their names serve both as lies to vilify Vortigern, and as clouds to obscure completely the all-important period between the British independence in 408 and the reign of Vortigern. This therefore is the Constantinus in question. And if he was opposed to this apostasy, the latter was nearly the same event as the final insular revolt against Constantinus in 408[1], ascribed to Eugenius son of Maximus.

There remains another question; whether this absurd description of Pelagius in the disguise of a Bard was a fair description of what was then and subsequently effected by the Bardists. Indeed, it was not far otherwise. Judaism (with which Pelagius had no concern) was one conspicuous feature[2]

[9] See Turner's Hist. Anglo-Sax. i. 175. Britannia after the Romans. i. p. 37, 8. p. 69.

[1] And, in Bardism, 390 is 408; both making 12.

[2] See Essay on the Neo-Druidic Heresy. sect. 22.

of Neo-Druidism. But to show in what sense the repudiation of Christian baptism and the unbloody sacrifice was true (as true it was) would lead into a vast digression. As Morgen or Morien represents Pelagius or Marigena, so Mor is simply Pelagus or Mare. Herein is mystery. Morgen[3] was the enchantress queen of the Oceanic Isle of Apples, which is the very name of Morien; and she had a sister Moronoë, that is Morgeneu, Mouth of the Sea. Of the twelve fabulous brothers who founded Ynys Avallon (at Glaston to wit) two were Morgen, but read one, Morgan; one was Morcant; another Morehel, which read Morheli, the Salt Sea; a fifth Morvined, read Mor-vinedd, Shores or Margins of the Sea; and a sixth was Mortineil[4]. See W. Malmsb. p. 295. Gale. In the same spirit, Merddin Wyllt deplores the suppression of his mysteries by Rhydderch and Maelgwn, and the slaughter of his partisans, by multiplying names in Mor.

> Dead is Morgeneu, dead is Cyvrenin,
> Dead is Morien the rampart of battle;
> Most sad was thy Merddin for thy appointed time.
> God has provided unpleasant things for me.
> Dead is Morgeneu, dead is Mordav[5],
> Dead is Morien, dead are those I love. Cyvoesi st. 130, 131.

The defection from the Church and the Empire brought in, not only an insular feeling and policy, but a tone of superstition peculiarly insular and maritime[6]. The precise distinction intended, between the proceedings of Morien and those of Mor, lies beyond my fathom; but the latter were no better than the former, for Gwydion ap Don was the great sorcerer of Ceridwen's cauldron, nor could any more anti-christian name be cited.

We have therefore sufficiently established both the scientific power, the state of prosperity or material power, and the moral or religious state, requisite for ascribing these remarkable works to the Post-Roman Kingdom.

[3] Galfridi Merlinus p. 41. Roxb.

[4] Can there be clearer demonstration, that the title of Ynys Avallen belonged to Glastonbury only in a mystical sense, if in any?

[5] Expanse of the Sea.

[6] See below Sect. 10. number 10.

There are those to be confuted, on the other hand, who esteem that only patriarchs and men of primæval habits could execute works, in which simplicity prevails, and to which nothing but grandeur lends ornament. The inference of antiquity from rudeness and simplicity of style, is but vague and declamatory. Fine works adorned Nineveh and the oldest empires on record, and rude ones satisfy many nations at this day, and will hereafter. Though rudeness and polish may sometimes distinguish the infancy and maturity of a given state, they may also distinguish its maturity from its last decline, and they can never indicate mere time. Phidias was not a modern, though he lived at a late epoch of the city of Cecrops.

Mr. Wakeman observes upon the cairn of New Grange in Meath, that "it would be in vain to speculate upon the age of a work situate upon the banks of the Boyne, which, if found upon the banks of the Nile, would be styled a pyramid, and perhaps be considered the oldest of all the pyramids of Egypt." Archæol. Hibern. p. 22. What opinion would be pronounced by careful judges, in the case supposed, would depend on all the circumstances of the case; but if it is insinuated, that a structure in one of the latest civilized countries, being found of a more savage fashion than others in a country renowned for its early cultivation, is therefore of greater antiquity, or of an antiquity moderately less, or of any relative date whatsoever, I cannot admit the suggestion. It is *indeed* "vain to speculate upon the age" on such grounds as those, for they have no point of relevancy.

But this topic fails entirely, when the works, rude and fierce in their taste, imply much resource of art and wealth; for taste or fanaticism may affect stern forms, either inventing them, reviving them, or importing them from abroad, but barbarous ignorance cannot put on science. Therefore the argument destroys itself; or assumes this arbitrary shape, that the primitive ages, and they alone, combined excellent skill with an austere style. Surely this is one of the cases, in which (as Lord Aberdeen[7] says of the Attic coinage) "the

[7] Apud Walpole's Memoirs relating to Turkey.

affectation of an archaïc style of work is easily distinguished from the rudeness of remote antiquity."

Likewise, in comparing these works together, one individual cannot be set before another because its plan is less refined; unless we are prepared for this position, that all cotemporary works are of equal, all subsequent ones of increased, adornment. That sophism is derived from the progression of orders, Doric, Ionic, Norman, Gothic, &c. But for this we require, *firstly*, specific types of improvement, and the more specific the better, like the Grecian capitals; *secondly*, buildings of known uses to be compared accordingly, temple with temple, theatre with theatre, forum with forum; and *thirdly*, improvements known to arise in general course of art, and not to spring from other motives, as the circular form of certain edifices sprung from a religious, not an artistic, imitation of the Saint Sepulchre. For cases thus arising can imply no date, except historically, and do not hinge upon inventions improving the capacity, but upon motives actuating the will.

The other circles, and all the avenues, of stones are said to be simply set in order, without being wrought. But the Stonehenge, having an impost mortised on to the uprights, with hemispherical mortises about 18 inches in diameter, required some use of tools; as well for that purpose, as for better preserving the circular bend of its corona. All other works of the Druids are "untouched of tool" (says Dr. Stukeley[8] p. ult.), "therefore older." And for the same reason Sir R. C. Hoare, echoed by many, considers it to be "of a much more modern date than Abury." S. Wilts p. 172. Even Mr. Rickman says[9], that it is therefore "of another æra." Archæol. xxviii. 407. The absence of tools, whether the case required them, or whether it did not, is equally to

[8] This Doctor (who, Mr. Gough says, "was born for the service of Antiquity") informs us, that Avebury was built in the summer of the year 1859 B. C. being the year of Sarah's death. The fact is ascertained by calculations, which imply the use of the magnetic needle or mariner's compass by the architects. Stonehenge was built more than 700 years later. See Abury p. 53.

[9] It is the more surprising he should yield to such an assumption, since he maintains that both were constructed under the Romans, and with a knowledge of Roman art. The remark seems hardly consistent with the theory.

prove antiquity so great [1], as not to be acquainted with their use; and that, even where the superlative magnitude of the undertaking renders such ignorance least credible.

The application of this reasoning has one curious point of infelicity; for the interior granitic circle of Stonehenge is unwrought and without imposts, and so the triliths ought to be "much more modern." Yet if difference of date can be surmised, the interior circle could not have been earlier than them, since it encloses their site, and renders nearly impossible their subsequent erection.

Reason suggests, that imposts were inapplicable to the lengthy avenues of Carnac and Avebury, and to the circles of the latter, each of which was four times as large as the circle at Ambresbury; while the expense and trouble of them may not have been afforded to circles of minor dignity. But the argument becomes still worse, when applied to one sole fabric, central and imperial, the seat of council and sovereignty, the cor mawr cyvoeth or "great sanctuary of the dominion [2]." For then an excellence and peculiarity of design is deduced from comparative recency, which is plainly deducible from comparative dignity.

These lax reasonings can never be so weak, as when applied to a fanatical and enthusiastic people, constructing a new policy after ages of dependency, and a new religion

[1] And elsewhere, by a still more whimsical process, antiquity is assumed, and the want of tools inferred. Some workmen digging upon Silbury produced an iron horse's bit, which Stukeley considered very ancient. But Sir R. C. H. exclaims, "How could a man with such learning and intelligence as the Doctor "possessed, possibly suppose, that this was the tomb of Cunedha, or of any "person living at so comparatively late a period, as that when bridles and iron "were in use?" N. Wilts p. 81. A vast tumulus implies ignorance of iron, though small ones may contain coins of Anthemius and Justinian. As Silbury was anterior to the invention of bridles by the Lapithæ, so was New Grange (not peradventure, but positively) "anterior to the age of alphabetic writing." Wakeman Archæol. p. 22. I do not myself understand, how the existence of a stone crypt under a cairn proves the inability of its builders, and of every body else, to read or write. Mr. Bere who published the accounts of Fairy Toote (the British New Grange, near Stanton Drew) says there is "little doubt that the temple of Stanton Drew existed *long before the birth of Pythagoras*, which was 600 years B. C." Gent. Mag. 62. p. 1183.

[2] Sir R. C. Hoare's own quotation.

out of two old ones. For there our *third* requirement (as above stated) entirely fails us. Some enthusiasts worship in groves, some on hills, and some in crypts; some affect simple, and some gorgeous edifices; and the Quaker's meeting-house is not older than the cathedral. But there is no doubt these things had a root in religion, though their uses extended into the civil polity. From whom this people were borrowing their idea; what moved them to adopt such a style, in preference to others easier and more elegant; and how old it was, among those from whom they borrowed; we shall find to be questions more or less difficult. But as there never was a time of Britannia's unfettered independence, possessing more abilities of wealth and science, so never was there an æra in which cultivated districts and rich cities were so strangely united with the fiercest and wildest clans, or in which civilized power was so remarkably blended with dark and gloomy thoughts, and the will directed by more wayward motives in the exercise of its abilities.

SECTION V.

Stonehenge not a sepulchre. Spoken of as anterior in date to the interment. Inability to construct it thus late. The statement not seriously meant by its author. It became, consequentially, a monument of the slain. Was erected in a vast and ancient cemetery. Story of Dinas Emmrys in Eryri analyzed. Inferences therefrom. The Friar's Heel. A chronological conjecture.

It has been already said that, in accepting generally the chronology given to us, we were not bound to accept with it the statements of the purpose, nor consequently of the exact and specific date, of this erection. The history is framed with perceptible artifice; and that powerful working of the mind, which Gildas has described, and which was late eradicated, formed a main object of its dissimulation.

The building was not in truth monumental or sepulchral, as it is expressed to be in the Brut, and as the learned Thomas Warton believed on that authority. Hist. Engl. Poetry i. p. 53. It existed when that event occurred, of which it is feigned to be a memorial; although it became, as it were, a monument to those who were there buried. So the church of Ste. Genevieve has been made, though it was not built, a mausoleum; and special motives have operated to banish from discourse, and partly from recollection, its original character. That may serve for an imperfect illustration.

In considering this point, we may look, *Firstly*, to the thing itself. It is not a Roman monument. Nor does it appear to be a British one. The usual type of the British sepulchre was a mound or tumulus, composed of earth, or of stones. If extraordinary honours were intended for the dead, the natural course would be to erect a tumulus of unusual

magnitude; of which a signal instance (whether sepulchral[1] or not) appears in Silbury. But I do not wish to lay any considerable stress on this argument, feeling that it is only available to a certain extent.

Secondly, the true voice of Britain is to be sought in the ancient Bards, and not in that Chronicle. Warton rashly asserts, that Geoffrey of Monmouth "had it from the British bards." But surely it is a confusion of names and things to call Walter of Oxford's Welsh book, Bardic neither in form nor in temper, "the British bards." He proceeds to ask, "But why should not the testimony of the British bards be allowed on this occasion? . . . . They lived too near the time to forge this origin of Stonehenge." This is talking very wide. What bards lived near the time, and have asserted this origin? The silence of their order as to such a transaction seems to me complete. And even their allusions to its *being* the place of sepulture on that occasion, which is quite distinct from being *so constructed*, are certainly of rare occurrence. Of those who fell at the Gododin feast, none was more famous than Cynddilig of Aeron; and his notice in the Poem of Graves runs in these strange words.

> The wolves are howling, dogs[2] of the wilderness,
> A lesson in groaning is the Head-Grave in the Foreign Land,
> The grave of Cynddilig son of the Cor of Wolves.

Here we have the Cor of the Gododin spoken of as the supreme sepulchre, Pen-Bedd, but a place passed away into the hands of the stranger, Alltud.

Nor are they merely silent as to any such monumental erection; but their testimony the other way is strong.

[1] Theorists reject the fact, which Stukeley affirms, that the bones of a man were found a little way below the surface of its summit. It is certainly unusual for the body to occupy that position in a barrow. But this tumulus is itself an unusual one. Mr. Douglas's objection, that the "time in raising of it would not agree with the nature of a funeral obsequy, which must require a greater degree of expedition," is inconclusive. Nænia p. 161. But it may perhaps have been a cenotaph of Divitiacus, or some other Belgian king, buried at Soissons; or of some Roman emperor, such as Claudius Britannicus, Severus, or Constantine. So, Alexander Severus cenotaphium in Gallià, Romæ verò sepulchrum amplissimum, meruit. Lampridius p. 590. Ed. 1661.

[2] Cion, but printed cian. Wilderness, for place desolated and profaned.

The most direct, perhaps, is that furnished by Cuhelyn. Cuhelyn ap Caw, surnamed Moel or the Bald, flourished in the 6th century. He was a disciple of St. Catwg the Wise, a schoolfellow of Taliesin, and called the brother of Aneurin. A later bard, Cuhelyn ap Gwynvardd, is said to have lived in the 8th century.

Cuhelyn Voel was one of those numerous persons, who have been called sons of Caw. Mature reflection has persuaded me, that Caw was one of those mythical and mystical names (some of them more manifestly such) that were employed in Bardism. He was a saint, said to be the son of Geraint ap Erbin "the beloved of the Saints," was styled Caw of the Cwm Cawllwyd, and surnamed Caw Cawllog or Cowllog. It was not, that I know, the name of any other man. His sons were illustrious and very numerous. One of them was entitled Anghar; and we read, in the Covenant of Anghar, this rhapsody concerning the family of Caw.

For threescore years
He [Anghar] bore this earthly [3] scene
In the flood of Caw, and his multitude
In the lands of the earth.
A hundred prompt ministers,
A hundred princely progenies,
Fair was their going,
Fair was their coming,
Fair the hundred minstrels,
And this their prophesying: *etc.*

It would seem they were all Bards. Among the reputed sons of Caw were Gildas the Bard and Saint, the Bard Aneurin, and the Bard Cuhelyn Voel.

It is strange, that the man Caw should *himself* be styled "of the dell, or deep valley, of Caw the hoary." But caw is band, or bond of union; from which, the highest degree of Bards were termed Beirdd Caw, Bards of the Band; and of which, a band worn by them was the symbol. Thus also the ancient lawgivers of the Britons are styled bancawydd, from ban-caw, a binding together. Triads. 3. 36. Cynddelw em-

[3] Or "earthly form."

ploys the term caw, as synonymous with the order to which he belonged,

The ceaseless resounding of the songs of *the caw*. p. 259.

Again cow is only caw prefixed in composition; and Cow-llog, otherwise written Caw-llog[4], (the surname of Caw) meant Band of Compact or of Covenant; while cwm, a deep valley, has been even to these days the term for the secret association of bardists, gwyr cwm y velin [velyn]. Edw. Williams. vol. 2. p. 161. I conclude, that the great and numerous family of Caw, the Covenant-Caw, of the dell of Caw-the-Hoary, was a family of adoption and affiliation, not of nature; and in fact, a fraternity of mystics. But although the brotherhood is ideal, it points to some general proximity of time; for this was clearly a special association, and not the Bardic order at large. The two odes of Cuhelyn seem in metre and style, and more particularly in spirit and temper, highly suitable to the British rather than Welsh æra of Cuhelyn Voel, and the rest of Caw's family. And the probability of their belonging to him is enhanced by his employment of that very term, which is not one of frequent occurrence;

Sounds from the airy hand
Of the *caw* (union) of minstrels.

Whichever of them it was, these are passages from his poem upon the bloody feast of the Calanmai.

Scorching [was] the anger of the wolf;
The law of steel was his nature,
His usual mode of judging.
Puissant was Eideol[5],
Ruler of the *Circumference* (Gorwy)
Excelling in wisdom[6].

[4] See the Iolo MSS. p. 142.

[5] The author of Hanes Cymmru, p. 468, sees little in this poem, besides the name Eideol, to connect it with the Plot of Knives. I quote him to show, what things learned men will say; not to waste any more words on it.

[6] By punctuation I have appropriated this praise to the Gorwy, not to Eideol Gadarn. Such ambiguities are among the mischiefs of an uninflected grammar; and you may take it either way.

The rage of the beast [7] leader
Directed against the Britons
  Was an incomplete atchievement.
The custom [resorted to] in malice
Was the fair and equal custom of
  A convention at a mead-feast.
The dispenser of the mead and wine
Was the knight of the enclosure
  Of the capacious place.
The place appointed was the Wall of the Eternal (Mur Ior [8]),
The melodious quaternion of PETER [9],
  The great circle (cor) of dominion.

. . . . . .

Numberless were the fair songs,
By my truth our circle (cor ein)
  Is a lovely mystery.
Minister of my land,
Thou heldest the inheritance
  Of pleasing eulogy,
The music and singing,
Like a golden utterance,
  Of the place whence I proceed.

. . . . . .

Greatly spreads the swarm,
To secure their asylum (nawdd)
  Against the surrounding foe.

We can scarcely read this, without inferring that the great works at Ambri existed before the festive meeting, and were its appointed place. Their circular form is denoted by gorwy, and cor, if not insinuated in mur Ior.

Passages from the Gododin of Aneurin ap Caw are to the

[7] Gwyth *vil* dragon ; not in mere abuse, but because his name Hengest was that of a beast or animal.

[8] Or eternal wall, whether from its massive structure, or its circular form. So the younger Llywarch says to David ap Owen,

Mine the place of Ior, and *the* Cor and thy praise,
Meu tud ior a'th (qu. a'r ?) cor a'th canmawl.

The word ior appears to be an epithet of God, in respect of his eternity. It is impossible to define its sense in this passage.

[9] Peter, rock or stone of the Church. I am now convinced that the editors have correctly given Pedir with a capital. Other bards use the same name mystically. And I shall revert to it hereafter, in Sect. 10. Mr. Davies's idea of pe-dir, the "how much ground" or ground-plot, i. e. the enclosed area, wants analogy as well as authority ; but the other passages are what determine me against it.

like effect; for the scene of the fatal banquet is there described as some place, admirable in its construction, and mysterious in its character.

> There hath not been built a hall so perfect (gorchymman),
> Like a great sea of the hue of slaughter. *vss.* 350, 1.

And the same stanza alludes to great stones, erected there for magical and sacred purposes,

> The sword rattled on the head of the enchantment
> Of Noah and Isaiah, the great stone of the joint-habitation (cyhaddvan).
> *vss.* 356, 7.
> There hath not been built a hall so imperishable (diysig). *v.* 368.
> There hath not been built a hall so faultless (dianav). *v.* 543.

By all the accounts and traditions one Eideol, Eidol, or in Geoffrey Eldol, was the master and defender of the sanctuary when Hengest visited it; and let us hear once more how Aneurin speaks.

> The glad Repository of the World (Llogel Byd) was amply supplied,
> Well did Eidol prepare at the spacious Circle of the World (Cylch Byd)
> Harmony, and gold, and great horses [1], and intoxicating mead. *vss.* 631—3.

The following lines by another hand speak more precisely to the material of the sanctuary, viz. its sacred stones, at the time of the massacre.

> When the congress shall repair from its place of repose
> To the *Central-place of Precious Stones* (Cyrch Main Gwyrth) with an assembling,
> And fair shall be the evening on the ground-plot of the Mount of Assembly (Gwyddva),
> And each one shall be saluting the chieftain with honour,
> There will in that place be bloody pride and presumption, &c.
> Taliesin Myvyr. i. p. 551.

Cattraeth (as the scene of the feast, and its concomitant slaughter, is called by Aneurin and others) is said in the fragment of Avan Red-spear to have been "greatly renowned

> For its foreigners, its stones, and its lordly feast,
> Allmyr, a maen, a gwin ionawg." p. 180.

This author can hardly have alluded to stones erected after the feast, in memory of those who had been slain.

But if their lamented precursors had obtained a monument

[1] Probably for the sports of the adjoining race-course, the Gododin Ystre. Compare the Gorchan Cynvelyn *v.* 51.

rivalling that of Cheops, why should all the bards avoid a theme so congenial to their feelings? They were only silent, because they knew it had not happened; and, knowing the truth, were not inclined to disguise it. Those who lived before the Brut of Kings never had heard its story; and those who lived afterwards, scorned to adopt "the detested song of the followers of Tysilio."

Thirdly, it must be observed, that after the events in question, all such prosperous enjoyment of power and wealth, as grand works require, had vanished for ever. The ability to perform them was at an end. Nothing remained but wars between native and foreigner, revolters and a king tenacious of power, waged with alternate victory, but unceasing detriment to the country. The provincials were wearing out, and with them the language, arts, and sciences of Roman Europe. These memorable works sprung up in the blowing, not in the bursting, of a great bubble.

Fourthly, it is essential to examine more closely the history which so states it. Galfrid. Mon. viii. cap. 10, 11. For here, as frequently, we shall find an outward and an inner sense in the cautious author. The Chorea Gigantum was originally formed, in its perfect shape, but in another place, for uses most important and wonderful, and quite unconnected with sepulture. But it was to be removed from Ireland to Mount Ambri by Ambrosius, as a monument. Strip it of its mythological dress, and then his statement is similar to our own. *It was originally no monument, but was converted into one.* But after such conversion, it equally retained its original uses; and it does not appear from his words, which object was uppermost in Merlin's mind. We shall see, in due time, that these uses were not secondary ones, but those to which nothing in Britain could bear comparison. As soon as it was erected, Aurelius Ambrosius was solemnly crowned in it. Crowned in a tomb? It is plainly stated, not to have been constructed as a monument; and is *scarcely* stated, to have been removed and used as a monument. Any one can see, that Ambresbury, the Bury of abbot Ambre or Ambri, bears the same name as that of the Cor's pretended founder, and that if Mount Ambri was earlier than this interment, the

Cor Emmrys was also; but, by the showing of the Brut, Mount Ambri was a sacred place of resort before the meeting, the appointed scene of that meeting, and afterwards the "cespes qui tot nobiles pro patriâ defunctos protegebat." viii. c. 9. It may be truly said, that the chronological statement, which we are under the necessity of rejecting, is not seriously assevered; and lies upon the surface, not in the substance, of the story. It is a wise rule that he, who produces a document, must read the whole of it; but it is no rule, that we must believe the whole of it, or none.

The neglected and contemned Brut of Kings merits close attention, and requires diligent and cautious interpretation. It tells us that Eldad, brother of Eidcol or Eldol, buried his slain countrymen in the cemiterium, which was near the cœnobium of abbot Ambri on Mount Ambri. See vi. cap. 15. So that the site, chosen for the Giants' Cor, was in or near an ancient cemetery. But, in fact, the mount on which that structure was planted stood in one of the greatest, and perhaps oldest, cemeteries in the West; and upon a plain covered with hundreds of barrows of the ancient class. The altered form of their sanctuaries had called out the Ambrosians to the most open and champaign places; which, in the days of the oak trees, had been convenient for intumulation, not for worship. See Sect. VI. There is the veiled truth of the Tysilionists. And to that interesting fact[2] we may probably refer the designation, affixed to Mount Ambri in the Graves of Warriors st. 76, Bryn y Beddau, Mount of the Graves. Therefore I did not quote it above, as a Bardic allusion to the burials after the feast; which it may or may not be.

It is expedient next to consider another story given in the Brut, and also in the Latin history, bearing usually the name of Nennius. Vortigern was counselled to erect an arx or turris in the Snowdon country, to be an impregnable asylum. But so fast as it was built up, it fell down. His magicians thereupon informed him, that, unless sprinkled with the blood of a boy born without father, it could never be built.

[2] Which, duly considered, may go far to satisfy the Rev. Mr. Duke's scruples.

Soon after, one boy was heard to reproach another, with never having had a father. The fatherless boy was sent for; and he told Vortigern, that the magicians were wrong, and the repeated failure of the building was owing to a pool under the area thereof, wherein slumbered two dragons, one red, the other white. Those animals were symbols; and gave rise to the Great Prophecy or Prophwydoliaeth Mawr. For when the boy was asked his name, he declared himself to be Merlin, or Aurelius Ambrosius; the former according to the Brut, which makes Ambrosius a king, and the latter according to the Historia Britonum, which knows of no such king. And upon this occasion Merlin Ambrose delivered the Great Prophecy. See Galfrid. vi. 17—19. Nennius cap. 39—44. The writers differ in this point, that the Brut assigns to this building in Snowdon a date subsequent to the Plot of Long Knives, and Nennius, one anterior to that event. Vortigern, thus apprised by the prophet of the impracticability of his undertaking, abandoned it, and withdrew either to Erging, or to Gwrtheyrniawn, in a very different part of Wales.

The building here alluded to was the Dinas Emmrys in Eryri. That was a double enclosure of stone walls, within which was a small building of stone, only thirty feet long. Pennant's Snowdon p. 176. The important feature in this tale is, that it must be understood in reference to the Gwaith Emmrys in Lloegria; without which, it is to our purpose an irrelevant tale of magic. But we must understand it in such manner.

Firstly, because it is ill to be credited that the mysteries and fates of all Britannia were buried in a place so remote and unknown to fame, as the Dinas Emmrys in Eryri; or that, if they were so, that place should have continued thus obscure and little regarded. *Secondly*, the Cor Emmrys or Gwaith Emmrys was actually known by the title of Dinas Emmrys and Din Emmrys; for bards, speaking[3] of the

[3] This argument does not move in a circle, unless we be prepared to believe that the Dinas in Eryri *was* the thing spoken of in that high and general manner; of which, I think, the negative (as intimated in the first argument) has notoriety. Besides whatever weight may be allowed to the commentators on the Beddau p. 83.

national sanctuary, used that phrase. Such is the language of Cynddelw in his praise of Gwenwynwyn, p. 242,

> I have chosen the lord of the host, the blue-mailed prince,
> Meet for [blowing] the horns of battle,
> Loving wisdom, loving song, and hating shame,
> In the shelter of the *cor* (circle) of the ominous *dinas* (enclosure)
> The dinas influencing the royal youths of the kingdom,
> The princely-towering Din Emmrys.

The place in Snowdon had not the slightest particle of connexion with Powys Wenwynwyn; and there is no room for doubt, of what place Cynddelw was speaking. His allusions to it are various and perpetual. All *actual* places of their rites and mysteries were, *by hypothesis*, that place. It was the Sion of the Saxon captivity, and the kebla to which their hearts were turned. In the same sense Gwalchmai calls Owain Gwynedd "the Eagle of Emmrys," and

> The slayer of Lloegrians, the lion of Din Emmrys. p. 195.

See also the Notes on Beddau Milwyr p. 83. col. 2. So the question is narrowed to, *which* Dinas Emmrys. *Thirdly*, the dragons concealed beneath it were the same, as were called the Dragons of Lludd son of Beli Mawr. See Brut Tysilio pp. 168, 9. Chwedyl y Tair Gormes in Y Greal. p. 241. Triad 45. ser. 1. Tr. 10. ser. 2. Tr. 53. ser. 3. Which operates in two ways to prove the point. For those dragons were concealed things, "entrusted to the protection of God and his mysteries, and woe betide the hour and the man who should reveal them;" and Vortigern of the Untoward Mouth betrayed his country by revealing them to the Saxons, and by that disclosure and two others the foreigners conquered Britain. But it was in the main seat of his sovereignty (if any where) that Vortigern betrayed Britain to the Saxons, not in the recesses of Snowdon. And again, the gormes or molestation caused by the dragons of Lludd was the shriek yearly heard on the night of the Calanmai; and the shriek of those kalends is well known to represent the massacre of the red kalends of May at the Mount of Ambri. *Fourthly*, the dragons of Lludd were, in the first instance, attracted by the odour of liquor *to the admeasured centre of the whole island* (which was computed to be Rhydychain or Oxenford), where they fought

over a large vessel of mead covered with a cloth, and got drunk, and fell asleep; and in that state were removed to Dinas Emmrys in Eryri. Here the truth transpires. It was known, that the battle shrieks of the Calanmai were uttered in drunken rage over the mead-vessels, (as it is sung of Hengest,

> With blood round about him
> Covering the froth
> Of the yellow mead)

in the mesomphalous or central place, the cyrch or *centre* of the Bards, cyrch cerddorion, and cyrch maen gwyrth. That idea is too literally accepted, as of a centre by measurement. *Fifthly*, Lludd ap Beli had an allegorical son named, in the plural, Taw-llogau, the Compacts of Silence; and the grave of Taw-llogau was said to be "in [the place of] *the extreme*[4] *redness*," or "*of the red onset*," "yonder, as it were in the "[place of] affliction, and he who digs it (claddai[5]) will "derive advantage." Beddau Mil. st. 60. But we can scarcely doubt, either, that his secret subterraneous Dragons and his buried Compacts of Silence are the same affair, or that the blood-red place of affliction, under which the latter lay buried, was that scene of havoc which Bardic mourning was wont to bewail. *Sixthly*, this legend was knowingly false in its *fact;* for it represented as inconstructible, and therefore abandoned, a work which was actually completed and subsisted for a number of ages. That applies to either place. But the *spirit* of the legend is, that Vortigern was expelled from Dinas Emmrys by the dragons of the Calanmai and the bardic vaticinations of Merddin Emmrys, and driven thence into distant parts. Which is true of the Dinas in Wilts, from which seat of power Vortigern, Consul Gewisseorum[6] or Lord of Wessex, was driven into Wales; but is quite false of Snowdon, from whence he was never expelled, but ended his days there, and was interred in the Bedd Gwrthcyrn. *Seventhly*, Aurelius Ambrosius (the unbegotten boy, who explained the secrets of Dinas, and whose name it bears) was

[4] Printed trewrut. [5] Printed clathai.
[6] Apud Galfrid. Monumet.

found upon the Maes Elect, Plain of Election or the Elect. But the Stonehenge, when mentioned as the burial-place of Ambrosius, is called Dewis Vynydd, the Electoral Mount. Beddau 1. st. 14. *Eighthly*, one document, the old English Romance of Merlin, in direct terms asserts the whole affair between Vortigern and Merlin, about the building of Dinas Emmrys, to have taken place on Salisbury Plain. See Ellis's Romances 1. p. 203.

The lights thrown by this mythus are important; and they illustrate the nature of the pseud-historical dissimulation. For, as it withdraws farther from the thing's true name and place, it ventures a nearer approach to its true nature and spirit. We behold a Dinas Emmrys over the affairs of which Merddin Emmrys presided, as one says, before the Calanmai, but, as it is agreed, with reference to no sepulture. It was planned by the king's magicians, or, as the Welsh copy in the Book of Hergest says, by his twelve chief-bards; and they pronounced that Merddin Emmrys was (as it were) its miraculously conceived Messiah, whose blood must consecrate the fabric. In its recesses lay deeply concealed those talismans of Britain, of which three accounts are extant; that of the historians, that they symbolized the struggle between the British and Saxon nations, that of the Roman de Merlin, that they symbolized the contest between Vortigern and Aurelius Ambrosius, and that of the Triads, that they symbolized the secrets of the state, such as the state then was. In all this we must recognize the dark machinations of the Apollinar Mystics; though under the cloak of narrating the close of Vortigern's unhappy life. The grave-diggers vanish, to make place for bloody wizards and mighty prophets. But, at any rate, the direct testimony of the Brut, that the Ambrosian fabric was planned in the interval between the Roman and Saxon dynasties, is reproduced in another dress, carried back to an anterior reign, and entirely divested of its sepulchral pretexts; thereby, not only confuting those pretexts, but confirming that testimony.

There exists a tradition concerning the Stonehenge, of which I would fain know the earliest printed authority;

being unable to quote it from any older source, than the useful pamphlet called *Conjectures on the Mysterious Monument*, &c. Salisbury 1821. But the phraseology in which it is written appears not to be modern. According to this, the stones were standing on the premises of an old woman in Ireland; and Merlin sent the Devil to buy them of her. He bought them for as much money, as she could count during the time of their removal; which, in effect, was none at all, for their removal was instantaneous. They were then erected in due order upon Mount Ambre; and the Devil boasted, that nobody would ever be able to tell how the fabric, or any of the parts of which it is composed, came there. But a friar, who had been concealed near the building, overheard the Devil, and replied, "That is more than thee canst tell;" which so enraged the evil spirit, that he snatched up a pillar, and hurled it at the Friar, but it only reached his heel and struck him on it. Therefore a mark, visible on the stone, is to this day called the Friar's Heel. The general import of the legend is obvious, namely, that the circles of Mount Ambri were erected *in the times of Christianity, though upon principles adverse to those of the Christians;* and that is an important departure from the Tysilionic dissimulation.

But perhaps a more specific value may, by plausible conjecture, be assigned to it. When the fabric was being erected, there was a spiritual person in this island, of celebrity enough to be remembered, sufficiently sagacious withal, and sufficiently conversant with the machinations of the age and country, to penetrate the secret of the builders. The same ecclesiastic, while engaged in observing their proceedings, received from some of them an injury in one of his feet. This should, I think, allude to some literal fact; for a mere allusion to Genesis iii. 15, thus introduced, would be senseless.

To all these circumstances history offers a counterpart, that may possibly indicate the man. Germanus of Auxerre came over to Britannia from Gaul in A.D. 429, pacified in some way or other the disputes then existing concerning

Pelagianism, and took an active part in the wars of the island. In his second visit of A.D. 447 he is said to have become the founder of an order or class of questionable British divines, known as the Congregation of Garmon, some of whom were warriors, and guardians of the Saint Greal. Caw of the Cwm Cawllwyd (see above p. 86) and all the family of Geraint ap Erbin were a part of Garmon's Congregation. He was, no doubt, fully aware of whatever was going on here. His early character of a heathenizing mystic, and the succeeding circumstances of his usurpation at Auxerre, as well as the suspicions to which he and Lupus are liable, concerning the game they played in this island, are set forth at some length in *Britannia after the Romans* vol. ii. pp. 72—89. Gildas, from whose work only strong motives could exclude the mention of him and his affairs, never introduces it; while his memory was high in favour with Bards and Sangrealists. During his visit of A.D. 429, he alleged (as we learn from his personal friend and biographer, Constantius Presbyter, cap. 26) for a reason of his prolonged sojourn in Britain, that he had lamed one of his feet, pedem contrivit, in a snare, laqueis præparatis, which some of his enemies at Verulamium had laid to trip him up. This conjecture is so important, that I wish it could also be thought solid; for it would supply us with a date, and indicate that the structure was in considerable progress in 429, or 21 years after the independence of the island.

The intrinsic solidity of this grotesque legend is, in one point of view, confirmed to us; by the alleged discovery, that it contained within itself a secret truth. For the Friar's Heel, the last stone that the Devil placed, was really the key-stone to the whole arrangement; if indeed it was, as Dr. Smith says in his Choir Gaur, the index which disclosed to him the astronomical principles of the structure. And that point may be received from him as a fact, without thereby involving us in an assent to all the conjectures of Dr. Smith and some other astronomers. If therefore, it be true, that the cunning Friar did detect how Merlin and the Devil, that is to say, how the Apollinares Mystici, set to

work in this matter, it is also true that he was specially acquainted with the index thereto, the Friar's Heel. Out of this topic there springs up a fresh argument against the sepulchral pretext. For the fact (if thus much be conceded), that the stones were so arranged as to indicate the sun's amplitude at the summer solstice, and also the elevation of the north pole, would go far to disprove it. It is improbable that a monument of dead men should be so framed.

SECTION VI.

The systems of stones were substitutes for groves. Merddin Wyllt's Avallen. The Avenues of Carnac. That of Avebury. The pretended Dracontium. Inference. Argument from numeration by a decimal abacus.

THERE is another way of bringing down the origin of the megalithic circles to a reduced antiquity; which, being founded on a hypothesis, must share the fate of the opinion from which it is derived.

It is my belief, that groves of upright stones were substituted by the later Britons for the oak-tree groves of obsolete Druidism. The columnar architecture of the Doric and later Grecian orders arose out of the imitation of trees, whose trunks were the original pillars. So in this instance, the disuse of real trees may have been followed by a representation of them.

An internal connexion between Druidism and that superstition, which Gildas deplores, and which pervades the old British literature, cannot well be disputed; because it is openly avowed in several ways, and the title of Derwyddon assumed by its professors. At the same time nothing can well be more certain, than that formal Druidism did not revive in the Christian Britannia of the declining Empire, and that it continued to die away throughout these islands.

But our question is, whether its form was simply abandoned, or replaced by any substitute. As it did itself revive, but with changes, and under dissimulation, so (as I esteem) did likewise its outward sacramenta.

Bardism offers nothing higher in zeal or deeper in doctrine than the Avallenau or Song of Apple Trees by the Caledonian bard, Merddin the Wild. He had received, from his patron

Gwenddoleu, the superintendence of 147 apple-trees in Lanerch or Clydesdale; concerning which he speaks with extreme mystery and fanaticism.

Since the number 147 was one of the numbers symbolizing 12, inasmuch as 12 was the sum of its digits added together, it is uncertain that his trees exceeded that smaller number. But as Dr. Smith (ignorant of that arithmetic) counted up the Stonehenge 129, which is also a Bardic duodenad, we cannot infer that they were less than 147. On the other hand, his repeatedly speaking of his avallenau as of one tree, the avallen, implies the mysterious union of them for some one purpose. The following lines combine the idea of a moral union with the language of numerical unity.

> Connate in its trunk is the voice of the Lady's[1] will, (st. 3)
> Concordant in its trunk is the voice of the chosen men. (st. 9)

Why his tree was a fruit-bearing apple-tree, is a deep inquiry into Merddin's creed and priesthood, not belonging to this volume. Its not being an oak-tree shows a departure from Druidism, at the same time that the celebration of a sacred grove shows the imitation of it. But was that grove composed of trees at all? I am of opinion, that his avallenau were a circle of pillar stones. They were

> Seven sweet apple-trees and seven score;
> Of equal age, equal height, equal length, equal bulk,
> Out of the bosom of mercy they sprung up.

Understood of trees, such a circumstance is improbable, but it is properly descriptive of the artificial symmetry of a pillar temple. The Rod of Moses (a poem in honour of Hu, the Bardic or Celi Christ) adverts to the coetaneous and uniform character of the new groves; as also to a previous and past dispensation concerning the same.

> Of the multitudes of the host
> Hu shall be the opponent, son of Mary.
> Praise the Lord!
> Hu! minister of the promise (arwaes)
> To whoso has emerged from darkness,
> Be he vigorous, or imbecile,
> Thine was the previous possession of the *coeval perfect* trees.
> Dy rhagavael cyvoed coed cyvlawn.—p. 41. col. 2.

[1] Ceridwen's; but the Lady has other names, and, in this poem, Gloywedd.

The next line in Merddin proceeds to say,

> Un, ddoledd uched a'i gorthoaint,
> *The curvatures on high, that covered them, were one,*
> They who guard them are one curly-headed virgin,
> Gloywedd her name, bright-shining her teeth,

of which the sense is,

> The one convexity on high was their covering.

With respect to a grove of trees, this is a trivial and superfluous statement, unworthy of a poem so pregnant with meaning; but it was a pertinent remark, as well as a sacred fact, that his cor was hypæthric, and had no roof but heaven.

The circular arrangement of it is likewise implied in the 8th stanza,

> Sweet apple-tree! tree of no rumour,
> That growest by the stream without overgrowing the circle,
> A ddyv yn haber heb arddyvu cylchyn.

Merddin was rather a title of honour and office, than a name. Hanes Taliesin st. 2. But it was one of the many phrases[2] alluding to the open structure of megalithic circles, the *din* or enclosure, composed of *merau*, detached portions. Therefore, if the son of Madoc Morvryn could obtain that sacred title of old Emmrys himself, we may guess from that very appellation what sort of Grove his was. But I think the unition of his grove, bardically duodenal, into one tree, indicates to us the peculiar form of it; being similar to that great *din*, whose compact corona gave unity to its many *merau*.

It is indeed true, that such a phrase may have been used merely in the language of Bardic hypothesis; which was carried so far. But he was an ardent supporter of those proceedings, which Maelgwn king of Britain and Rhydderch Hael were desirous to put down; and was supported in his measures by the Bardic party throughout Britain. And it is most probable that the bards of Britain did actually erect in

[2] Of which an enumeration will occur in the proper place in Sect. 10. Their existence itself is no light argument in this matter. For what was there to dwell upon, *as important or sacred*, in the broken, discontinuous, and columnar wall of the Cor? Nothing, that I can discern, except that *therein* consisted its Druidism, and *thereby* it was a grove of equal coeval trees.

the territories of Gwenddoleu a sanctuary similar in pattern, though not at all comparable in size, to that which their forefathers had built in the South, and of which their use and even possession was yearly becoming more precarious. For, in the Dialogue of Merddin Wyllt and Taliesin, the former says concerning the hostile forces of Maelgwn and Rhydderch,

> They landed in [3] Nentwr before the two men,
> Before the vain man [4] and the covetous, on the pale water.
> With activity they dragged the brown stones.
> Mein wineu yn dihun a ddygan.

This seems a plain statement, on the supposition that the avallenau of his avallen were really a megalithic system, erected in the Celyddon of Clydesdale, and destroyed by its Cumbrian enemies. But, otherwise, it is not intelligible to me.

The Goveisus Byd or Contrived World is a very obscure poem, having reference to the sanctuary of Ceridwen, and commences thus;

> There were twelve by whom the land was ruled,
> There was the most generous and beauteous of Ladies, (Ceridwen)
> Of the ardency of bees was the woe of her border,
> It burst forth over the oak-trees thrice in battle,
> *And it shall be our wood-circle* of *feather'd oak-trees for the land.*

This is the language of substitution; for had it really been a circle of oak-trees, they would never have declared that it should be such, for them, and for their country. I suspect the same allusion in this curious line of hybrid language,

> Hic nemor i por progenii [5],
> This wood is for the lord of our race.

That prodigious work of Carnac near Vannes consists of eleven rows of great stones. To the eye of La Sauvagere they were placed in lines like rows of trees. cit. Caylus Rec.

[3] Alclwyd, Dunbreatan, or Nemthor.

[4] Which is which? Errhith, the phantom or passing form, means (I believe) Rhydderch, who triumphed for a moment, and was soon afterwards driven out of Cambria. See Merddin's Cyvoesi st. 8. While cyrrhith, the covetous, expresses the grasping ambition of Maelgwn Gwynedd; in contrast to Rhydderch's well-known surname Hael, the Generous.

[5] Priv Gyvarch *v.* 109.

d'Ant. vi. 381. The exaggeration of Mons. Ogèe, that they are set in a quincunx like avenues of trees, was a departure from the statements of La Sauvagere, who had pointed out the inequality of their distances, varying from 18 to 25 feet; and La Sauvagere's own account, that the avenues were straight lines like des rues tirées au cordeau, has been greatly modified by more accurate inspection. See Ogèe Dict. de la Bretagne i. 161. Logan in Archæol. xxii. 193. 195. Such however is the general character of their disposition.

As we know nothing of Druidical groves being rectilinear and equidistant plantations, though perhaps cut out in walks adapted to solemn processions, there may be no loss of resemblance in the abatement of those exaggerations. Shall we say, that this most spacious of megalithic monuments was spread upon the plain in random rows, not even rectilinear, and without any normal shape to regulate its erection? Zeal and art would scarcely combine to achieve that, which when done would have no name or definition. And I greatly prefer to adopt in earnest the idea, which suggested itself to the eyes of the French antiquaries, without suggesting to them any inference; and to say, that this was a grove of the Armorican Britons after Christianity, and these their walks of sacred oak-trees.

Such remarks naturally conduct us to Avebury. At Avesbury, Avebury, Aubury, Albury, or Abury, there was a curved or undulating avenue of great length; interrupted by a vast circle, which enclosed two other double circles eccentric to itself; and terminating in another circle. The changeful name of that place has latterly been changed from Abury to Abiri, said to be Hebrew for the Mighty Ones, and it is become not unusual[6] with a certain school to print that name in Hebrew types. Yet first, it is inaccurate that Abiri is

[6] W. Cooke Patriarch. and Druid. Relig. p. 37. Higgins pl. 13. Duke on Druidical Temples p. 54. Mr. Higgins also derives Amesbury from Ambres Abiri! p. 232. Silbury will have its turn next; and in due time every Bury in Wessex will be conquered by the Abiri. That nation, who were introduced to Sir R. C. Hoare by "a learned friend" (N. Wilts p. 63 note), I believe, originated with Cooke in 1754. The same Hutchinsonian divine had the insanity to print those words of corrupted Welsh, Choir Gaur, in Hebrew letters, and interpret them Choir "a round double sea-shell," and Gaur, a congregation. p. 52.

Hebrew for the Mighty Ones, or (so far as I can ascertain) for any thing else; and then, it is manifest that Abury was not the name. Before these extravagances had been broached, Dr. Stukeley had maintained that the avenue was a serpent, and the terminal circle its head. That has been adopted for a fact; antiquaries now talk as freely of the serpent of Abury, as of the sphinx in Egypt; and, until lately, I had slumbered in acquiescence to this generally received, but gross deception.

But before I apply directly to that point, there is something to observe on the general plan of these works. In 1723 Mr. Thomas Twining[7] published his "Avebury in Wiltshire, &c. &c.," and inscribed it to Heneage Finch, fifth earl of Winchilsea, the owner of the soil. His theory is almost unrivalled in its absurdity. He conceives these works to have been a temple of Terminus, erected by the Romans under Agricola, to mark the northern boundary of the Belgæ; and their ground-plan to have been in that form, which the Roman geographers (as stated by Tacitus) erroneously ascribed to the Island of Britain. It appears in his plan as a quadrilateral trapezium; the curve of Stukeley's snake, which I will call A B C, forming the two sides A B, and B C, with a very obtuse angle at B. And, since B is really occupied by the great twin circles at Avebury village, you may state it either way as you will. But his plan exhibits two other complete sides, which I call A D and D C, of which no hint is given by Stukeley or any of his successors. Twining marks them with double rows of dots, just the same as the Bekhampton avenue A B, and the Kennet avenue B C. He no where says, whether the vestiges of stones, or of earthen works, or what else, had guided his pencil. But the fact is, that he planned a trapezium, without the slightest hint that A B and B C were facts, and A D and D C mere conjectures. Since there were no reasons à priori for his theory, and he adduced no instances to show that nations had ever erected monuments in the geographical shape of their country, it seems that his observations of the ground should have suggested his theory, and not the con-

[7] Not the translator of Aristotle's Poetics.

verse. Though he does not in strict terms aver thus much, he says that "without regard to the circles at the middle and end, the Avebury Circus[8] seems undeniably projected by the then thought figure of our isle, and consequently was designed to represent it." p. 5. And it was hard for him to deceive all the neighbours upon such a point, including Lord Winchilsea, who had recently and carefully examined the ground. The title which he gave to those works, Cunetium a cuneo, implies and absolutely requires the existence of D C. The following is the letter-press to his plan, Cunetium Romano-Britannicum, insulæ totius secundum veteres formam indigitans, sive circus lapideus Aveburiensis ad ordinem primævum in dies periturum revocatus. Stukeley's conduct is remarkable. He printed his Abury in 1743, twenty years after Mr. Twining's Avebury. But he no where hints the existence of Twining or his book, either to correct his errors, to refute his cunetium, or for any other purpose. Nobody can gather from him, that Abury (as he calls it) had ever before been discussed in print. Yet he is careful to state, that he had surveyed it with Roger Gale and *Heneage Earl of Winchilsea* in 1721, two years before Twining's publication. p. 22. His mysterious silence must have had some motives. Sir R. Colt Hoare perseveres in the same silence, and these perplexing facts have thus been consigned to oblivion.

But, on the other hand, Mr. John Aubrey's Monumenta Britannica[9] in manuscript, with a description and plan of Aubury, exist some where (where I know not), and Sir R. Colt Hoare was acquainted with them. And Mr. Aubrey is quoted by him, as though he represented merely the elongation A B C, without alluding to remains in any other line of direction. Therefore, if Sir Richard has made no sacrifice of his usual candour to support Stukeley, we must conclude, either that Twining spoke and acted altogether like an insane man, unaccountable for his conduct; or, that he connected

[8] Why he calls it a Circus, "without regard to the circles," and while projecting a totally different figure, the readers of this absurd author must explain for themselves.

[9] Written in 1663, forty years after Camden's death. Yet Mr. Higgins informs us, that Camden had seen them! Druids p. xxix.

with the ruinous stone avenues of Avebury certain lines of earthen works, which others have neither connected therewith, nor even described.

Returning now to the received plan of Avebury, I will proceed to expose the frauds and absurdities of Dr. Stukeley. It was easy for him to show, that all ages and religions had notions concerning a serpent; but he felt that he made no progress, by a parade of such learning. All the world talked about serpents; but, from the beginning of the world to his days, no human being had ever heard of a building laid out in the shape of a serpent. His Ὄφεως Κεφαλή in Bœotia had nothing to do with a serpent's body, only with his head; and it was no representation of his head, but a mark of the spot where his head had been cut off. Paus. ix. c. 19. It was of small use to say, that Apollo's killing the serpent Python signified "Phut's building an enormous serpentine temple," and that Hercules healing a wound he had received, by the virtues of the herb dracunculus[1], can be understood no otherwise, than that Hercules made a serpentine temple. p. 68. p. 75. For there are certain limits to the credulity of mankind.

Therefore Dr. Stukeley boldly asserted, that the snake-shaped temple was a well-known thing, and "denominated of old time" a Dracontium. Mr. Twining had held the candle to him, when he coined the word Cunetium for a wedge-shaped temple. "The temples of old made in the form of "a serpent were called, for that reason, Dracontia." "Dra-"contia was a name among the first learned nations, for the "very ancient sort of temples of which they could give no "account, nor well explain their meaning upon it. Strabo "xiv." See Abury p. 9. p. 54. p. 55. The last words seem inconsistent; for if they called it *Dracontium* for resembling a *draco*, they could perfectly well explain their meaning. These impudent fictions have obtained an extraordinary currency. "Hence (said Mr. W. Cooke) were these temples called Dracontia." Patr. and Druid. Rel. p. 28. Sir R. Colt Hoare mentions "*that class* called by the ancients Dracontia,"

[1] A species of Arum.

as a notorious fact. Anc. N. Wilts p. 67. p. 70. "Even temples, from their resemblance in form, assumed the title of Dracontia." Mod. S. Wilts ii. p. 51. Mr. Bathurst Deane, in Archæol. xxv., has an Essay on Dracontia, in which the common learning of serpent-worship is brought up, and every thing receives from it a Dracontian colour. We hear of the god Ophel, alias Apollo, and his "Dracontic tripod;" we see "defined the nature and object of a Dracontium;" and we learn that dracon is derived from derech on[2], avenue of the sun, although General de Penhouet "does not understand the term Dracontium" in that way. It is quite immaterial how he understands a term, that hath no existence; otherwise, I think the General is much in the right.

This oft-repeated name, Dracontium, is no where to be found. It is unknown to Stephens and Facciolati. And "Strabo xiv." has not a word of allusion to any part of this topic. When we see the assertion, upon which the whole case is made to hinge, supported by no reference except a false one, we can make sure there is none to produce. That name and the assertions concerning it were a deliberate forgery[3], which supine credulity has screened from detection a hundred years.

The head of the serpent (says the Doctor) is carried up the southern promontory of the Hakpen hill. p. 19. And upon the name of that hill he remarks, that "the Arabians call

[2] Dr. Stukeley derived his name for the avenues from the animal, but Mr. B. Deane derives that of the animal from the avenues; than which I cannot imagine a more incredible proposition.

[3] The author of the Itinerarium Curiosum was from the beginning closely connected with the affair of Richard of Cirencester. And he made himself Bertram's agent for the sale of the copies, at his parsonage house in London. Sam. Pegge ap. Cambr. Reg. i. p. 373. The forgery committed in this instance is as indubitable, as it is unopposed by evidence of any description. For its language bears no resemblance to that used by Ricardus de Cirencestriâ; and that author, like most of his age, in his Speculum Historiale and other works believes and follows the Brut, to the general geography and various city-foundings of which the writer de Situ Britanniæ deigns no allusion. In what relation Dr. Stukeley stands to this imposture, whether that of its dupe, or its accomplice, I cannot say. I should add, that the tables of names and distances, entitled Diaphragmata, and given in a mutilated form, are very likely the genuine contents of some stolen document, and the nucleus of the forgery.

a serpent *haic*, and wood-serpents *hageshin*, and thence our hakpen. Pen is head in British." p. 32. So the people of North Wilts, when they wish to say serpent's head, take a word of Arabic and a word of Welsh, and tack them together. But they named Knap Hill from Cneph, which was Egyptian for a sacred serpent. They seem to talk any language but their own. However, if that circle of stones was called a pen[4] at all, it was so called in the plainest sense of that English word, an enclosed place; and the conjecture most allied to popular ways of thinking and speaking would be, that hak-pen came from hag-pen, the witch's pen[5] or fold.

When the case of Avebury is divested of lies and forgeries, I see nothing in it but great circles and avenues, with some reason for thinking that groves and woodland walks were typified by them, none for supposing the form of a snake was expressed. Mr. Aubrey had a similar feeling, although he had formed no opinions. "The distance of the stones in this walk and the breadth of it is much about the distance of a noble walk of trees of that length, and very probably this walk was made use of for processions." Aubrey MSS. ap. Hoare p. 61. The form of Carnac, inapplicable to the Dracontian figment, is itself an argument in the case of Avebury.

It would be no reasonable supposition, that the same people should at one time have venerated their oaken groves with that zeal and love, of which the name has become so famous, and also have expended energies immensely great to repeat and imitate in lifeless stone the living symbol of their system; for substitutes are seldom used concurrently with their prototypes. It follows that they did so at a different time, and under altered circumstances; and, we should add, in altered localities.

[4] Waiving the etymologies, the very assertion of Stukeley seems to be untrue. The map of Avebury in Cooke places the pretended Serpent's Head on the slope of Overton Hill, away from Hakpen Hill. And Higgins's plan equally removes it from the Hakpen.

[5] So the circle of stones in Caermarthenshire; called the Buarth, or Cow-pen, of Arthur.

For their solemn rites were then called out of the woods, in which their wooden idols stood, in which their sacrifices were performed, and of which the sacred trees were aspersed with the piacular blood, and came to be celebrated in the most open and champaign places that could be chosen, and where the circles or avenues would stand most conspicuous. Those plains had anciently been unadapted to Druidism, but were peculiarly suited to the construction of sepulchral tumuli; by which it is consequently found that the greatest cors (such as the Stonehenge and the Rollrich) are surrounded.

Whether the supposition upon which the argument of this Section is built be a well-grounded one, the competent reader must form his own judgment.

But before I conclude, I will adduce another chronological argument, also dependent upon its hypothesis, but nearly conclusive under that hypothesis. If we believe, that Dr. Smith rightly estimated the Stonehenge at 129 stones, and that Merddin's 147 trees were some duodenad of stones, we get the fact of their erection at an epoch, when the method of numeration according to a decimal abacus formed a part of the arcana of philosophy; for the Bardic duodenad arises out of that method. From which it would seem to follow, that no time anterior to the decline of the Western Empire can with probability be assigned to the Cors of Merddin Emmrys and Merddin Wyllt. And even then, the more perfect arithmetic, to which these Bardic mysteries have reference, does not appear to have been published and openly made use of.

SECTION VII.

The Cor removed from Ireland. From Kildare, not Killair. Brighid of Kildare. She is Mary. The Bride Stones. Cor removed morally, not literally. Druidism driven into Ireland. Its return from thence. Cauldron of Ceridwen. Cauldron of Bran. The Cor is the Cauldron. Bran's House of pillars. Mainus king of Scots. The Cauldron is Mary. History of the Tuatha De Danann. Cauldron of the Daghda. Brighids daughters of the Daghda.

In our endeavours to elicit fact from fables, we meet with none so important, as that of the removal of the Cor y Cawri from Ireland[1] to Britain. In days of yore giants had removed it from Africa to Ireland. Galfrid. viii. 11. Or, as the Welsh copies say, from Spain. p. 277. Alexander Nechan (sec. xii.) sang,

> Illâ congerie fertur decorata fuisse
> Tellus quæ mittit tot Palamedis aves, (ap. Camden i. 205. Gibson.)

which in Gibson's translation of Camden is rendered,

> At first the monstrous work in Scythia stood.

And it was understood so by Thomas Warton in his fine verses,

> Thou noblest monument of Albion's isle!
> Whether by Merlin's aid from Scythia's shore
> To Amber's fatal plain Pendragon bore,
> Huge frame of giant hands, thy mighty pile, *&c.*

[1] These lines occur in S. Daniel's Musophilus p. 193, ed. 1623, quoted at some length by Dr. Stukeley in his Preface, and repeated by Mr. Logan, Archæol. xxii. 196,

> From Afric brought to Ireland in a night,
> And thence to Brittany by magic course.

Mr. L.'s comments upon this locus communis can only be made intelligible, by supposing him to take the word Brittany (old English of Britannia) for the part of France so called. At the close of the 17th century Mr. Cressy published his Church History of *Brittany*.

But we need not understand Scythia, rather than Africa; seeing that the migrations of the crane alternate between those countries. And Necham was only a follower of Geoffrey.

At the suggestion of the enchanter Merlin, and by the command of his own brother Aurelius Ambrosius, Ireland was invaded by Uthyr Pendragon, who vanquished her king Gillamwri, and obtained possession of the Cor. Its removal whence it stood to the ships of Uthyr, and from them to Mount Ambri, was effected with ease by the arts of Merlin, neither asserted to be natural, nor the contrary. As soon as it was placed on Ambri, the estates of the realm were summoned thither for the coronation of Ambrosius.

It is not clear from what spot of Ireland Uthyr removed the stones. The Latin and Welsh copies of the Brut agree in stating that Killara, seemingly Killair in Meath, had been their station, in Killarao monte Hiberniæ, mynydd Cilara. Robert of Gloucester in like manner has it,

To the hul (hill) of Kylar send into Irlond.

A stone at Killair[2] marked the centre of Ireland's five provinces, quarum capita in lapide quodam conveniunt apud Mediam juxta castrum de Kyllari, qui lapis et umbilicus Hiberniæ dicitur, quasi in medio et meditullio terræ positus. Giraldi Top. Hib. iii. 3. This idea seems to agree with the *admeasured centrality*[3] of the mead-feast of the Calanmai, and with the *hypothetical centrality* of the archidruidic station of Carnutes in Gaul, quæ regio totius Galliæ media habetur. Cæsar vi. 13. On the same hypothesis the Bards called their sanctuary the Cyrch, or Central Place. Father Keating understood, and assumed without hesitation, that the place alluded to was Mount Claire in Munster; upon which there stands, as I am informed, a cromlech, surrounded by the remains of a great circle of stones, and reported to be the monument of king[4] Oiliol Olum. Keating p. 52.

Giraldus, the junior contemporary of Geoffrey, who was acquainted with both Leinster and Meath, asserts, with

[2] Lair, medii, gen. of lar.

[3] See above, S. 5, in discussing the Dinas Emmrys.

[4] Said to have reigned over Munster in the third century.

Geoffrey's book lying before him, and while actually making use of his words, that they were situated in the plain of Kildare, at no great distance from Naas. Top. Hib. ii. cap. 18. And, in so saying, does not even allude to the different statement in the text of his authority. But he observes that there still were, in the situation indicated by him, lapides quidam simillimi similique modo erecti. Those stones are two in number, about two miles from Naas, and called the Long Stones. Ussher. Brit. Eccl. p. 242. Lond. Their description proves, that the emphasis of Giraldus was merely upon erecti, *set upright* in like manner, and not upon modo, as if any otherwise similar. Sir James Ware suggested that the Long Stones might be trophies of victory erected by the Danes. Ant. of Ireland c. 24. p. 58. 1705.

It appears to me that Giraldus and Keating fell into the same error, of seeking confirmation for this legend, in the existence of megalithic monuments at the place supposed to be named. For the place from whence this structure was removed in its complete order and "eo modo quo ibi positi sunt," is necessarily some place in which no part of it was afterwards to be seen. Which is entirely false of Claire; though really true enough of Kildare. For the connexion of that place with a spot two miles out of Naas is by no means apparent.

The story of its removal agrees better with the opinion, that Sir R. C. Hoare would have embraced, could he "possibly attribute so modern an æra to the erection of Stonehenge," (but how can a pile of stones be so little at thirteen centuries old?) namely, that "under the story of Merlin's arts was designed the fact of some architect transporting the plan of a temple from Kildare." Anc. S. Wilts p. 132. Tour in Ireland pp. 274, 275. But then we have the difficulty, of accounting for the entire disappearance of the model structure, and for the oblivion thereof in its own country. So that I differ from all three, by thinking that some place was signified, which neither after Merlin's days, nor yet before them, contained any structure of that sort. Though it by no means follows, from the absence of that reason, that it was named for no reason.

On the face of it, we should prefer to follow the letter of the text, rather than the tacit emendation of Giraldus. But I have made observations, to the opposite effect, that appear to me of the utmost gravity. *Firstly*, that the fabulous king of Erin, who fought for the possession of the Cor, was Gillamuire or Marian, that is, the Servant or Devotee of Mary. Of the two Irish kings, opposed to Pendragon and to Arthur, the first is called in the printed Latin Gillomanius and the second Guillamurius[5], viii. 12. ix. 10. 12, but all the Welsh copies correctly style them both Gillamwri in every place. pp. 278. 309. 312. 321. 356. Gillomanius is no Irish name, but evidently a mistake for Gillomarius, indeed R. Higden writes it Gillomaurus. This pious appellation has degenerated into the family name of Gilmore. Geoffrey himself writes it Gillamor . . . . Hibernensis, in xi. cap. 2, where the Welsh consistently puts "o Iwerddon Gilamwri." See O'Conor Script. Hib. Proleg. p. cxcvii. *Secondly*, that Saint Bride, or Saint Brighid of Kildare, was Mary, not by assimilation of virtues and spiritual graces, but by re-appearance of Christ's very mother, with the same form and features. That she actually was the Virgin is so mysteriously set forth, as to show that in some sense she was *not* that blessed among women, but also to show that in some sense she *was*, not in character merely, but in person. I will begin with the Gaelic hymn[6] in her praise, which has been ascribed to Columkille,

> Be extinguished in us
> The flesh's evil affections
> By this blossoming tree,
> This mother of Christ !

Her Gaelic poet Brogan Cloen is ancient, though the high date ascribed to him is not credible. He says,

> Brighid the mother of my heavenly
> Lord, a Lord the best of all sons,
> Suffered not much reproach,
> She had the true faith of the Trinity.—Ibid. p. 515.

Neither of these poets rely upon the one point, in which the

[5] From want of due attention to Irish names, I had once imagined this name to be composed from mur, wall, which is one of the appellations of the Cor in question.

[6] Ap. Triad. Thaum. p. 606.

abbess of Kildare might emulate Mary, her chaste purity; but both of them ascribe to her that point of conformity, which is most extraordinary, the being *mother of Christ!* And the latter of them does not say "*my* mother of the Lord," like eris *mihi* magnus Apollo, but "mother of *my* Lord," which phrase is not relative, but absolute; and he leans heavily on the maternal idea, by subjoining that her son was the best of sons. Having observed this, I am bound to add what he afterwards says by way of modification.

> Except Mary none was similar,
> As we esteem unto Brighid ....
> May the blessing of Brighid and of God
> Be upon those who join in reciting [this poem].
> There are two holy virgins in heaven
> By whom may I be guarded,
> Mary and Saint Brighid.

Here they are certainly made two, but Mary is not made the greater of the two. In a Latin hymn we find the express averment that she was the mother of Christ, and something more besides,

> Brighid, who is esteemed the Queen of the true God,
> Averred herself to be Christ's mother, and made herself such by words and deeds.

As these lines are truly portentous, I shall give the original of them.

> Christi matrem se spopondit, dicto atque factis fecit,
> Brigida [7] autumata veri Dei Regina.

A vision revealed to St. Ibar [8], that the Virgin Mary would attend an approaching synod, and he beheld her form and features. The next day Brighid came to the synod, at a place that was afterwards called Kildare, and when the saint beheld her he exclaimed, Lo! that is Saint Mary whom I saw last night in my vision. And all the people extolled Brighid, because of that name of Mary with which she had been honoured, and from thence forth she was called Mary of the Hibernians. These sayings are signs of a strange time;

[7] Trias p. 542. Colgan prefers to read automata, which to me makes no sense.

[8] Vita Hibernica S. Brig. cit. Trias p. 622.

and we cannot wonder if there was once a time, when Gillamuire and Gillabrighde, Maolmuire and Maolbrighde, were equivalents at Kildare. *Thirdly*, that in the purlieus of her Church stood the circular pyrèum, with the miraculous ever-burning fire of Brighid, which her nineteen virgins tended; a matter of certain truth, of which all her published biographers have suppressed the mention, which the author of Cambrensis Eversus did not venture to impugn, and which was itself tacitly suppressed and abolished. It was yet in full force and repute in 1185, the primum inter multa miracula, its miraculous judgments were a terror to the profane, and its vestal college was in honour. Girald. Top. Hibern. ii. cap. 34, 35, 36. cap. 48. Since that time it has quietly passed away; but at what period, and under what bishop and abbess, and in what manner, it was got rid of, does not (I believe) appear in history. Colgan asserts that Brighid ordained her Fire, pro pauperibus et hospitibus refocillandis. Trias p. 638. But that assertion, echoed by Ware and Lanigan[9], is a mere fiction; nor do the original narratives give the slightest hint of any refocillation.

Dr. Lanigan (who does allude to the Fire in a note, without any details) infers from the silence of her biographers, that this pyrèum is of a date indefinitely subsequent to Brighid's, and that she was never its Vesta. He would perhaps have been as silent as them, and his notes would be as silent as his history is, had not the rude attacks of Ledwich forced him to speak.

The following statement will prove that she was the Vesta of Fire, not at Kildare only, but wherever the Gaelic saints were honoured. Martin, in his Western Islands, relates a custom observed on the 2nd of February; where he has perhaps made a slip of memory, since the 1st is St. Bride's day. "The mistress and servants of each family take a sheaf of oats and dress it up in woman's apparel, put it in a large basket, and lay a wooden club by it, and this they call *Briid's bed;* and then the mistress and servants cry three times, Briid is come, Briid is welcome. This they do just before

[9] Lanigan Eccl. Hist. i. 460. ed. 2.

going to bed, and when they rise in the morning they look *among the ashes, expecting to see the impression of Briid's club there;* which if they do, they reckon it a true presage of a good crop and prosperous year, and the contrary they take as an ill omen." In Pink. Voyages iii. 613. At Kildare, the nineteen virgins tended the Fire many successive nights, and on the twentieth night the last virgin said, "Brighid! tend that fire of thine, for it is thy night." Though there were always abbesses, her place in the pyrèum was never filled up. These things show, that the Fire burned at Kildare from her own days, and that every domestic Ἑστια or fire-hearth was under her tutelage. *Fourthly,* the establishment of Kildare had a moral centrality, insomuch as she was the Arch-Virgin of Ireland, who presided over all the female religious, at least, and whose bishop exercised a peculiar jurisdiction over all Ireland. All the churches and monasteries of Ireland (says Cogitosus) acknowledged the superiority of hers. She sent for a holy man "to govern the Church with her in episcopal dignity;" and this "anointed and principal head of all bishops and the most blessed principal of maidens, in happy fellowship together, and being governed by all virtues, erected her principal church, and (by the merits of both) her episcopal and virginal cathedra prevailed in all Ireland, like a fruitful vine with branches spreading all around; which [church] the archbishop of the Hibernian bishops, and that abbess whom all the abbesses of the Scotti venerate, govern in happy succession, and with a perpetual ritual." Cogit. p. 626. This is very strong, and cannot be reconciled to the received history of the Irish Church, without some limitation; perhaps, to the universal government over houses of consecrated virgins. Whether it should be so reconciled thereto; or is irreconcilable, and that received history incorrect, is a question which I am not prepared to determine. But we see that the circular pyrèum once diffused its warmth, and a Kildarian Gillamuire his authority, over all Erin. While, on the other hand, Killair, though materially central, enjoyed no moral centrality, traditional veneration, or general resort, and never had an influence over Ireland analogous to that which the Cor Emmrys had over Britain. So far from it, that, when Ussher

wrote, the tradition of its centrality was extinct, and that honour was popularly ascribed to Birr in the King's County, where the central stone was shown. p. 242. *Fifthly*, the Galfridian narrative of the transfer of the Cor from Erin is not the only tradition thereof. We have had occasion to notice a different and very curious one. See Sect. 5. p. 84. And by that account, the circle stood in the back premises of *an old woman* in Ireland, and was obtained from her by compact, not by war. Few will doubt, whether its authors meant Killair or Kildare. *Sixthly*, Brighid is fabled to have resided for some time at Glastonbury or Bangor Wydrin, and left her scrip, necklace, bell, and distaff (which things were her asionna) at that place. But we read in William of Malmsbury, that the twelve disciples of Joseph of Arimathea there constructed, in honour of MARY, quamdam capellam, *inferius* per circuitum virgis torquatis muros perficientes. p. 293. As a wattling of rods entwined together could never support an upper wall of stronger materials, I infer that the capella was surrounded by a *low* circular dead-hedge. But this is just the virgeum orbiculare sepe, which inclosed the pyrèum of Kildare ; and was so low, that men could jump over it. The real date of this affair is quite obscure. The following is the earliest document, and belongs to the British kingdom of Dyvnaint. Anno Dom. Incarn. 601, Rex Domnoniæ terram quæ appellatur Yneswitrin ad ecclesiam vetustam concessit, quæ ibi sita est, ob petitionem Worgret[1] Abbatis, in quinque cassatis. *Ego Mawron Episcopus hanc cartam scripsi. Ego Worgret ejusdem loci Abbas subscripsi.* Quis iste rex fuerit scedulæ vetustas negat scire. Gul. Malms. p. 308. Evidently nothing is here given verbatim, except the signatures. But I rather think the words Ecclesia Vetusta are from the document. The following are the conclusions to which I lean. That, as the circular wattled hedge of Kildare was certainly not the church of Kildare, so the circuitus formed by the virgæ torquatæ was never the church of Glaston ; that it was misdescribed[2] as such, by the Saxon and Norman Bene-

[1] Gwor-gred, Excelling in Faith.

[2] Whether from misapprehending the British authorities from whom they borrowed, or to give the thing a more Christian varnish, I cannot say. The

dictines; and that Mawron, the British bishop, was not alluding to that circle, when he named the Vetustam Ecclesiam. Whensoever erected, we find in Britain a circular sanctuary of some renown, a virgeum orbiculare sepe, strictly imitating that of Brighid at Kildare, and at a place boasting of its personal connexion with her. Other analogies between them will shortly be noticed. *Seventhly*, I cannot refrain from thinking the megalithic circles in this island were once known to be sacred to her. She is one of the very few Gaelic Saints (perhaps the only one, since Patrick was said to be a Briton born) that are of British observance; in which calendar she is St. Fraid the Virgin, or St. Brid, anglicè[3] St. Bride. The great circle of Stanton Drew, exceeding the Stonehenge in diameter, is called the Wedding, because a bride going to be married, and her attendants, were changed into these stones. Camden i. p. 190. Other stones, called Druidical, near Halifax, and again another circle (very remarkable) at Biddulph in Staffordshire, are both called the Bride Stones. Rowland's Mona p. 319. Mr. Watson, Archæol. ii. p. 359. I discern no sense in all these stone brides, and can find no other analogy for them, real or verbal, which has led me to form a suspicion, that they once were sacred to St. Bride of Kildare; whose name remains to them, while the memory of her has become obsolete. Should we think them of too grim an aspect to suit a holy maiden, we must call to mind *her club.*

By these several considerations, and some others (which I cannot just yet produce, but presently will), I am led to conclude that the Cor was removed from Kildare, not Killair; though I am less able to explain the state of Geoffrey's text. The author of the Brut with his usual art and reserve in handling the moral points of his subject, may have substituted the natural centre, for the moral centre; or the MS. of Walter of Oxford may have contained an erroneous reading, which other traditions of the fact enabled Giraldus to rectify; or Geoffrey may have erroneously read and rendered the

suppression of the Kildare pyrèum (both of itself, and of the mention of it) belongs to varnishing.

[3] Seinte Bride. Layamon Brut *v.* 24407.

name ; or he may have meant Kildare, but erroneously supposed that Killair was the name of the place really called Kildare, and either of those errors may have been retained in the re-translation from the Latin. Certainly Giraldus, who is using his words, seems to have no notion that he is also contradicting his statement. I feel no scruple about the word *Mount ;* for as the stones were brought to the Mount at Ambri, conformity suggested their removal from a Mount at Kildare.

The tradition of a transfer from Ireland is true. But there are reasons against any part of the story being literally true. *Firstly,* because Irish history affords sufficient refutation of Erin having any king called Gillamuirc, and records no successful invasion of the kingdom to carry off a temple. *Secondly,* because enterprises conducted by the enchanter Merlin, and Uthyr or the Portent, were affairs of *hud* or magic illusion, having their solution in mysticism, not in facts of history ; of which the Bardic conception miraculous, at Tintagel, offers a signal example. *Thirdly,* it was inconsistent with the human character, and especially the Gaelic, to surrender the sacred things of their country to foreign intruders: otherwise than by conquest, which history rejects. *Fourthly,* because the removal of such masses, from either Killair or Kildare to the sea, as Ireland then was for roads and clearance, and with that Ireland hostile, and thence in Roman-British vessels, is impossible, and can only be supported by unlimited appeals to our faith. *Fifthly,* because the megalithic system, though introduced into Ireland, never acquired in that island the splendour of a national system, nor took hold of the Bardic mind as it did in Britain. *Sixthly,* because Avebury and the other principal works were not from abroad, and a vast proportion of the blocks of Stonehenge, and those the largest, are generally (though not universally) considered to be of a Wiltshire stone abounding near Avebury.

Mr. Conybeare suggested that the inner circle, composed of smaller and granitic masses, may actually have been conveyed from Kildare, not far from whence a similar green-stone is found. Gent. Mag. 1833, p. 453. But this leaves the histo-

rical and moral difficulties unremoved. And it is liable to serious objections.

While it professes to lend support to the letter of the Brut, it quenches the spirit of that history. For if this structure was built at different epochs, the grey stones were surely erected the first; since the hoisting of the triliths over the green-stones would be a strange supposition. But the whole spirit of the story is, that the original Cor, not any supplemental ornaments, came from Ireland.

I do not think it *was* a work of different epochs, but erected systematically, with prepared materials. And I think so, not only because of the alternate arrangement of those materials. But more, because the quadripartite division of the area, produced by that arrangement, was an essential and sacred feature of its plan; and a circumstance much and long thought of. It is said in that pure remnant of Bardism, the Preiddeu Annwvn:—

> Am I not contending for the glory of song, imperfectly-heard
> *In the quadripartite enclosure with four ways,*
> In primary speech from the cauldron, when the utterance
> Was somewhat heated by the breath of the nine virgins?
> Is it not the cauldron of the chief of Hades, Pwyll the courteous?

And again in the same:—

> Am I not contending for the glory of song, heard
> *In the quadripartite enclosure* of the island of strong shelter,
> Evening and jetty blackness being mixt together,
> Bright wine being the beverage placed before its company?

The following adage in the Viaticum of Llevoed Flat-face (a string of proverbs or old saws, connected merely by the rhyme, and compiled in the 10th century) agrees in terms with the Preiddeu,

> Deep[4] is the quadripartite place with four ways,
> Pedryvan dwvyn pedrychwelyd.—St. vi. 9.

And I attach double weight to a proverbial saying, for it shows an *essentiality of idea*, distinct from the language of mere description. These passages refer generally to the sanctuary; but the Hoianau specifies its position upon Salisbury

[4] Profoundly mysterious.

Plain, at the Caer Sallawg, in st. v., where the patron of that holy place is called gwr a ced pedryvanau, the mighty one, the treasure [5] of *the four spaces.* Yet in stanza 22, Merddin speaks of his sanctuary as only twofold,

"And an ardent slaughter round the dwylan tywi,"

that is, round the extent of the double-enclosure, but attention to the passage will show that he is comparing the woes of the great sanctuary to those of his own Avallen; which latter he describes as a dwylan.

The importance of its being divided into four manau or spaces, and having four chwelydd, that is, four ways, courses, directions, or turnings, may have been to station so many different choirs of minstrels, or move them about in processions; independently of the symbolical value possessed by the various parts of the edifice. But the fact is, that importance *was* attached to it. Cynddelw (in later times) called the [6] sanctuary pedrydan, the equivalent of pedryvan, divided into four spaces. p. 210. col. 2. He also, if I err not, repeatedly terms it, pedair or, the four borders. The same is, in Cuhelyn's equivocation, the cor, Pedyr pedror, quaternion of Peter, or of stone.

Therefore I cannot profess any belief in an unsystematic construction, performed at various times. The solution of the whole story can be furnished, and it lies quite in a different direction.

The transfer of an institution or jurisdiction is fairly symbolized by that of the building or place connected with it;

[5] Perhaps a'i ced, the guardian of *etc.*

[6] The cauldron, pair; but the identity of those terms is about to be fully shown. If pressed to say, why the quadripartite arrangement of the Cor was so highly valued, I should guess it was in respect of the four elements. For one Bard styles the cauldron that "of my four elements." Another terms it "the cauldron of the four *origins* or *sources*, echen." Cyndd. p. 222. And Taliesin sings,

I have been in the toilsome chair
Above the Caer Sidin,
Which hath its turning
Between three elements;

its own site, being, as I suppose, the representative of the fourth element.

as though any one had spoken of the Vatican being transferred to Avignon. And to this the duplicity of some, and simplicity of others, have attached a literal sense. Stukeley mentions, that St. Michael's Mount of Llan Vihangel in Monmouthshire was sent out of Ireland by St. Patrick. Itin. Cur. it. iv. p. 37. That is the same sort of thing. For a Michael's Mount (of which there are two in Monmouthshire, besides those famous ones in Cornwall and[7] Britanny) had some particular value[8] in the system of Britain and Armorica; and there is a Mount St. Michael, for the most part artificial, at the famous plain of Carnac. Logan on Carnac in Arch. xxii. 194, and see xxv. 214. Some missionary from Ireland may have consecrated the Mount of Llan Vihangel. But the most striking and apt illustration is the alleged removal of the old Temple from Delphi bodily into the land of the Hyperboreans, meaning to express no more than the introduction of Greek institutions into Scythia. So also, it was only the sanction, and religio loci, which came over from Ireland to the Severian Plain.

Cynobelin reigned in Britain, and there is reason to think extensively, at the place called Camulodunum[9]; which is now thought to have been at Colnchester in Essex. His son Adminius quarrelled with him, and took refuge at the court of Caligula. Sueton. Calig. c. 44. But he died unmolested by the Romans, leaving two sons, Togodumnus, and Caractacus or Cataratacus, besides others unnamed. Both were defeated, and the former slain, in the war of Plautinus, which produced the capture of Camulodunum. Dion. Cass. p. 959. Reimar. The latter was made prisoner with his wife, daughter, and brothers, in the war of Ostorius. The disastrous result of that war left small chances of independence for the islanders, and their religious polity was in equal jeopardy.

[7] Long since added on to Normandy.

[8] It is known that Michael was not merely an archangel according to the Church, but a name of Mithras and of Mercury in the jargon of the abraxas. Montfaucon ii. pp. 359. 366.

[9] In his time, anterior to Caligula and ending under Claudius, two remarkable improvements, borrowed from the Romans, were in existence, viz. the establishment of permanent towns or cities; and the use of coinage, inscribed with the Latin alphabet.

The Druidical discipline, of which Britain had been the seat, not for herself exclusively, but influencing the whole of Gaul, had no longer any secure asylum. For the Menai straits were evidently, as the event proved them, no sufficient barrier to the groves of Mona. One only refuge, to the westward, lay open to the depositaries of that religious authority, of which the organization was so famous. The circumstances of its removal to Ireland are shadowed forth under the mythus of one Bran ap Llyr; and upon it the whole case in a manner hinges.

Bran, meaning Raven, surnamed Bendigaid or Blessed, was son of Llyr, meaning Margin of Waters or Shore, and surnamed Lled-iaith or of the Half-Speech. This mysterious being was the father of Caradawc or Caradawg, as some Post-Roman Britons have travestied the name of Caractacus, and is said to have shared his captivity, and brought the Christian faith into Britain. But all was fable; for his father died king and at peace with Rome.

Bran is purely mystical and magical; and his mythus involves an equivocation of great moment, and fortunately of no impenetrable obscurity. The father of Caractacus had been king Cynobelin, Cyn-o-velyn, Flaviceps. But that very name, Cynvelyn, was used as a British name for the Duw Celi or concealed object of adoration, and in special reference to the sanctuary as a pyrèum or shrine of sacred fire. Cynvelyn was the seventh and greatest of the seven fires. See the Gorchan Cynvelyn, and Ymdyddan Merddin a Thaliesin p. 49. col. 1. Caradawc or Amabilis, son of the mystical Cynvelyn, designates the Crist Celi, or secondary object of that concealed adoration, which has been so long forgotten, and is now so little known. Hence, the great Cor was at or near Caer Caradawc, or rather, was itself the Caer Caradawc, and stood upon the Caer-Caradawc-Vre. So mystical was that name in the high Bardic days, that any famous Caradoc[1]

[1] In a very modern work, probably of the 16th century, the Gwehelyth Iestyn, the real history of Caractacus mixed with idle tales is introduced, eight reigns anterior to that of Caradawc ap Bran ap Llyr; and concerning Bran and his Caradawc no historical truth is told. The first man is called son of Arch, meaning (in modern Latin-Greek Welsh, as it does in Latin-Greek English)

was son to a Bran, and grandson to a Llyr. But the Caradoc of Arthur's reign, called Briechbras, is styled son to Bran ap Llyr *Marini, Sea* Shore, not to Llyr Llediaith.

If the suppression of the very name of Druidism sufficed to prove the deep dissimulation of the Brut, it is scarcely less shown in the exclusion of the name and acts of Caractacus from an ancient history, of which the true facts and genuine names are but compilations[2] of the Roman historians. Neither in his own name, nor in that of Caradawc, has that Briton of unique celebrity any place or existence among the princes of his country. Cynvelyn has no such sons as him or Togodumnus; but, in their place, Gwydyr and[3] Gwairydd; and Llyr has no son Bran, but three daughters. That passage of history had been too long converted into a type of the old Druidism and the succeeding Bardism, to be utterable by Tysilionic lips. The father of the fire-king Cynvelyn, Teneuvan in the Brut, and Tecvan in the Bards, and his grandfather, Lludd ap Beli in the Brut, and Calvan the Fiery in the Bards, have mystical names unconnected with history. His son, Melen or Melyn ap Cynvelyn, Belenus or Belinus filius Cynobelini, Flavus filius Flavicipitis, was of the same allegorical and ghostly breed. Belenus, the sun god of the ancient Gauls, is only Melen, Flavus, in mutation, Velen. The real Cynobelin was Flaviceps, no

Supreme or Chief. The document slyly repudiates the Trojan mythus, by substituting Annyn (No-man) of Troy for Brutus of Troy.

Οὔτις ἔμοι ὄνομ' ἔστ'· Οὔτιν δέ με κικλήσκουσιν.

[2] I have seen no sufficient reasons for doubting, that Latin history is the only authentic source of the ancient parts of this history; the rest being divided between simple untruth and mysticism. But I cannot say, that no Latin work, or portion of a work, not now in print, had been seen by the author. Gregory of Tours had Latin historians of Maximus and Valentinian whom we have not, and our Ammianus is sadly imperfect.

[3] Galfridus had read the words of Juvenal,

> Regem aliquem capies, aut de temone Britanno
> Excidet Arviragus,

and had not observed that the warrior so named was living in Domitian's reign; so he took upon himself to put Arviragus for Gwairydd, from a very faint resemblance of sound, without analogy of formation. From this trivial scrap of misplaced erudition in Geoffrey, flows all the stuff which antiquaries and numismatists write about Arviragus. See Roberts on the Chronicles of Kings p. 83.

doubt, from his colour; but I rather imagine the mystical Cynvelyn Bran to have used his *cyn* in the other idiom of that prefix, for *primary* or *chief*, Chief-of-the-yellow-ones, or greatest of the seven fires. Hengest, while violating the sanctuary at Caer Caradawc, is said to be threatening Melyn, and the scene of his violence is called the Hen-Velen or [Place of] Belenus the Ancient.

Bran was a sacred term among the bards, as appears in more ways than I need attempt to enumerate. Their obscure artifices of speech were the "motley-worded [4] *communications* of the Raven." They themselves as being Brans were called the Meib Llyr, Sons of Llyr; and Llyr they surnamed the Half-spoken, because of the same obscurities of speech. The buried head of Bran ap Llyr was a palladium, the concealment of which ensured British independence. All this was said in reference to the whole institute or system of the Britons, and not in a narrow acceptation; for Bran ap Llyr Llediaith was one of those called bancawydd, binding together, because their systems (trevneu) were the best ever established in the island; the other bancawyddion being the lawgiver Dyvnwal, and the fabulous king by name Britain. Triad iii. 36.

The manuscripts of the Glamorgan connexion contain a curious exposure of Bran's mystical discourse or gairvrith cyvrenin, and his Christianity. But, like much of what emanates from that source, it requires attention. In the triplets of Achievements (st. 34. Iolo p. 264) it is said,

> The achievement of Bran ap Llyr Llediaith
> Was establishing speech in the wilderness
> And raising up regularity (rhawd) against lawlessness (anrhaith).

It had before been said, in st. 16,

> The achievement of Bran ap Llyr Llediaith,
> Against the evil of death [5] in the wilderness,
> Was faith in Christ, in blessed privilege (dyrhaith).

[4] Cyvrenin, participation; those conventional phrases by which certain persons are intelligible to each other, not to others. So Taliesin *knew* what Aneurin was saying, and it was called a *cyvrenin* between them. Aneurin p. 7. See Merddin cited above p. 79.

[5] The allusion is to the Israelites, who did not live to see the land of promise.

But, as we know that language was not invented by Bran, and that its wilderness was not an ignorance of all discourse, only of the mystic jargon, so we may judge that the faith in Christ which he established, was not all faith in Him, planted in a wilderness of mere infidels, but a faith in the Crist Celi, analogous to the cyvrenin speech which made and kept him Celi. And as the *anrhaith*, or negation of authority, means the absence of the rules taught in Bran's language, so the crair *dyraith*, or blessed privilege, means the hidden law of his linguists.

It is now a common learning in this behalf, that the British mysteries were expressed by the Bards and by Bardists under the name of the Cauldron, of which they speak often, and with extreme enthusiasm. They style it *their* cauldron, that of the Lady Ceridwen, that of Gogyrwen, that of Gwion[6], that of Pwyll Chief of Hades or Hell, also the Cauldron of Britannia, that of the five woods, and of Dyrnawg, by which I understand, the Smiter. It was likewise the cauldron of dadeni, new birth, regeneration, or rejuvenescence. That cauldron was not so much a part of their remarkable scheme, as a term expressive of its whole. But in some sense, literal or mystical, the cauldron was to impart a renewed life to those who entered it. It was, in this respect, a representation of Nature's reproductive power. A passage in the Covenant of Anghar ap Caw specifies this virtue of the cauldron among others.

If dissolution were the decree of Avaggddu,

(*Source*, or *Aggregate, of Darkness*, son of Ceridwen, who seems to signify Matter, viewed as it were gnostically, and as the power of death)

Would not Gwion skilfully
His treasures forward
Bring, and his utterance,
And the depths of futurity?
Of dead, he would make him alive
Who is altogether helpless.—p. 34.

But Bran the Blessed, son to Llyr the Half-spoken, and

[6] Taken rigorously, I do not remember that very syntax of words, "cauldron of Gwion."

father to Caradawc, carried over to Ireland the cauldron of regeneration, and gave it to an equally fabulous king of that island, called Matholwch (Expansion of Waters?), and its property was, that if one "be slain to-day, and be cast therein, to-morrow he will be as well as ever he was at the best, except that he will not regain his speech." Mabinogion Part vi. pp. 87. 110. See Turner's Vindication pp. 283, 284. A strange romance or mabinogi was framed upon this foundation. Among other things it is there stated, that Bran had originally received the same cauldron *from* Ireland, from the hands of one Llassar Llaesgyvnewid (Azure Loose-bargain) p. 88. However that story may tend to obscure the business, it is hard to doubt that this cauldron means the religion[7] of the Druids, removed to Ireland in the days of Caractacus. An ancient poem, entitled Sons of Llyr, which amounts to Brethren of Bran, after having said,

> Is there not protection in the cathedra of Ceridwen's cauldron?
> Let my tongue be free
> In the sanctuary of the praise of Gogyrwen!

proceeds thus, in the strain of reminiscence, incident to their doctrine of metempsychosis,

> I was with Bran in Erin,
> I saw when Morddwydtyllon was slain,
> I heard the conference concerning the Bards
> With the Irish, enervate devils.

The strange name of the man, who is said to have been slain[8], signifies Perforations of the thigh. Of the seven that were with Bran in Ireland, when he took over his pair dadeni, and who returned alive from that expedition, three were the bard Manawydan or Manawyd ap Llyr, brother of Bran, Pryderi mab Pwyll Pen Annwvn, and *Taliesin.* Mabinogi pp. 98. 124. On this anachronism it is superfluous to expatiate; but

[7] Though the symbol is, possibly, of more recent introduction in these parts. It was, however, an ancient one.

[8] The mabinogi says of him no more than this; when Gwern son of Matholwch and Branwen was thrown into the fire, "then said Morddwydtyllon, Gwern [is] the head-cap of the cow of Morddwydtyllon," Gwern gwngwch viwch Morddwydtyllon." p. 97. He is not mentioned before or after, and it no way appears who he was. It is a wretched fragment of a lost mythus.

Manawyd and Pryderi were accounted superintendents of the British cauldron in or after Cadvan's days.

> Well arranged is my cathedra in the Caer Sidi,
> Disease and old age shall not plague him who is in it.
> Known is it unto Manawyd and Pryderi,
> Three songs round the fire shall they sing before it,
> And round its heights [are] the flood streams,
> And the fruitful fountain is above it,
> And sweeter than bright wine the liquor in it.
>
> Sons of Llyr, *vss.* 46—52.

For the Caer Sidi, and the cauldron of Pwyll Chief of Hades, and its apostles Pwyll and Pryderi, in reference to Arthur's days, see the Preiddeu Annwvn p. 45. col. 1.

The pair dadeni of Bran in Erin and the pair Ceridwen are so utterly identified, that the very chronology of the former becomes evanescent in Bardic phrase. Nor was that essential personage herself, Ceridwen, Morgana, the Lady (Gwen, Rhian, Bun etc.), that aged hag and youthful fair one by whom power worked and forms were evolved, absent from the cauldron of Bran. For the cauldron was conveyed to Matholwch at his marriage with Bran-wen (Raven Lady [9] or White Raven) daughter of Llyr the Half-spoken and sister of Bran. And, so soon as she got to Erin, the Irish made her fill the office of cook in the court. Which they, who have ears in this behalf, may well understand. For her office was never to make vulgar broth, but to mix and heat the potent cauldron, or prepare (according to the language and "detested song" of the other school) "the viands of the Saint Grèal."

In the age of Caractacus the archidruidic college of Britannia obtained permission to establish itself in Ireland.

[9] Bran's sister is well termed Branwen, nay, she is sometimes called Bran verch Llyr. See Glyn of Cothi p. 302. And her name is ill spelt Bronwen (White Breast) by the Third Triadist and others. Brangwen, chambermaid to Essyllt of Ireland, in the flagitious tale of Sir Trystan of Lionesse, confirms the name and etymon, though the adventures furnish no other illustration. I suspect Llyr's three pseudo-historical daughters to mean ambition, love of wealth, and (Bardic) piety or devotion; Coronilla, the crown, Rhegau, gifts, and Cordeylla from the Cor. But with the original text we have lost the true spelling, Cordyllau, apertures or intercolumniations of the cor, would agree with an extensive analogy. She is the real daughter of the Half-speaker, and Branwen's equivalent.

This was when the power of Rome put it to flight. But the bringing over the Cor y Cawri from Ireland was the restoration to this island of the same institution, though changed as the course of events had changed it. And this took place after 408, and when the power of Rome was withdrawn. Bran ap Llyr removed the cauldron of the Druids, and Merddin Emmrys brought back the cauldron of the Bards. It is no objection, that Evnysien, son of Euroswydd Wledig, and half-brother of Bran, an opponent of the Irish and of all the transactions with them, cast himself into the cauldron and split it into four pieces, lest the Irish should enjoy its chief benefits. Mabinogi p. 98. For the like happened to Ceridwen long after in Britain. When three drops were spurted out of her cauldron, and were tasted by Gwion, her cauldron split into two halves. Hanes Taliesin p. 17. col. 2. And this splitting of the cauldron meant any thing else, than the termination of its existence.

Bran directed that his head should be amputated, and after the lapse of many years be conveyed to Britain, and buried in the White Hill at London. Mabinogi pp. 98. 124. The Bardic tradition is that the independence of the island was proclaimed (in the days of Honorius) by one Eugenius or Owain, a reputed son of the emperor Maximus; and he was its liberator and first king. Whatever kings may have reigned between him and Vortigern, their names have perished. His own name, though it was celebrated in Britain, is entirely suppressed in the Brut, and with it, all allusion to the recovered independence of Britain; a dissimulation not, perhaps, exceeded even by the greatest in that work. See Triads iii. 17, 21, 34. Now this Owain ap Maxim Wledig was the person who secretly deposited the head of Bran ap Llyr in the White Hill; and, whilst it lay concealed there, no harm could befall the island. Triad 53. This shows the falsehood of the chronology in the Mabinogi of Branwen, which makes the interval between Bran's death and the interment of his head no more than 87 years. But the bringing home of his head, at the epoch of renewed independence, and by the founders of that independence, is the same thing (or cognate, and nearly the same) with the bringing back of his pair dadeni.

For the things named, head or cauldron, are only symbolical of the return of banished institutions. The use of the megalithic system in Britain, under the auspices of Owain ap Maxim and of Bran's head, is probably insinuated in these lines of the Canu y Cwrwv,

> Thou art lethargic thyself,
> It is the Wild-boar deserves
> The *stone-piled* Cymmry
> *Of the father of Caradoc,*
> Cymmry carneddawg
> Y tat Caradawg.—p. 40.

The mention of this most important person by his name is rarely to be met with in verse; if it can any where be surely identified. A genuine and remarkable production of the reign of Maelgwn, the Mic Dinbych, contains a stanza of which the concluding words cannot (that I see) be so well referred to any of his numerous, though seldom illustrious, namesakes, as to him. But I know no other instance, of which the like can be said.

> There is a delightful Caer, lifted on high;
> [Formed] [1] as of reeds (gochawn) it has obtained the praise of cluster'd spears, (cyvrhein)
> Delightful on its mount is the progeny of the primitive-ravens (cynvrein).
> There shall come the bristly cormorant, long his wings,
> Frequenting the summit of the stone, hoarse his screaming.
> Let the wrath, that is in the fates, burst through the stones,
> And the grisly wolf supreme in battles.
> Over [2] the thought of recollections there is no covering (dim pyner).
> The blessing of the Cherisher of heaven's high symphonies
> Be on them, and make the worthies of Owain denizens [3] of His kingdom.

This is no effusion of mixed and *Welsh* bardism, combining high allusions with the prolix parasitical flattery of chieftains; but it is pure *British* bardism, poured forth amidst the doctrinal contentions of the kingdom of Maelgwn. And I do not see why the gorwyr Owain should be referred to any lesser person than him, who set up the kingdom, and brought home Bran. I greatly mistrust what is said, in the prose of

[1] Its columnar form, reed-like in peace, is like spears, when provoked to war.

[2] The recollections of the calanmai, though distant, are matter of unextinguishable resentment.

[3] Yn vrowyr, to be his countrymen.

the later middle ages, concerning the coron Llundain, and here of the White Hill of London. So the Bretons imagine their Carnac was dependent upon the Tower of London. But this language has reference to the existing Kingdom of England, and I think it un-bardic and un-british. Nor can I see reason to believe, that Augusta remained the capital of independent Britannia. Ambri was that capital; the seat of the Independence, its conventions, elections, coronations, and solemn judgments; and Ambri's[4] white hill was that which received Bran's head, as the insular palladium.

King Arthur, it is said, disclosed the hidden head of Bran, and thereby hastened the ruin and subjugation of Britain. So that we have three great epochs of Bran, that of Bran's going over to Erin, that of his *occult* re-establishment in his native island, and that of his rash disclosure therein. Of all which we may, even in the present infancy of these inquiries, partly appreciate the force.

It may perhaps be said, this is just quodlibet ex quolibet; a cauldron is conveyed abroad, and great stones are brought hither; but a huge stone temple cannot be called a magical cauldron of renovation. But if it be wrong to call it so, it is none of my saying; and merely what I find written to my hands. "The stones are mystical, and salubrious for various "cures. The giants brought them from Africa, and placed "them in Ireland, while they dwelt there. And the reason "was to make baths within them, when oppressed by infir-"mity. For they washed the stones, and poured it into the "baths, by which the sick were cured. They also mixed with "it preparations of herbs, with which the wounded were cured. "For there is no stone which hath not a medical virtue." Galfrid. viii. 11. There is an obvious affinity between this and the cauldron of Bran ap Llyr; and I think my argument (considering the subject of it) is not loose, but close and pressing.

[4] So that Triad 53 and the Mabinogi would merely require to be rid of the superfluous words, "yn Llundain." I believe the calchvynydd yn neheubarth, chalk-mount of the South (in the Song of the Wind p. 38), to signify the sacred mount of Ambri; and the Docth or Bardist, Cadrawd Calchvynydd, may perhaps be called after the same.

The herbarum confectiones, which are the only magical process mentioned in the Brut, (and therefore mentioned in it, because not unequivocally magical,) are fully recognized as ingredients by the votaries of Ceridwen and Gwion. After she had appointed Gwion to be guardian of her cauldron, she devoted herself to collecting for it, by astrological rules and planetary hours, herbs of every opposite virtue. Hanes Taliesin in prose p. 17. The same thing is shown in various poems, that breathe the very soul of witchcraft.

When there is a calm dew-falling,
There is the offering of wheat,
And the liquor that bees
Have collected, and resin,
And exotic aloes,
And shining orpiment,
And pleasant precious silver,
And the ruddy gem, and the grain
From the ocean foam (pearl),
The cress over which the fountain
Hurries, for a further oblation,
Wort, the noble liquor,
To which the people flock,
And a load of moon-influenced
Placid pleasing vervain,
And the understanding of the fixed stars,
And the virtue of the stars and the moon,
And the influence of their clear aspect . . . . . *&c.*:
And medicinal plants
From a place entirely veneficous (venfyg),
And bards with flowers,
And dark hidden treasures,
And primroses and herbs,
And topmost sprigs of trees . . . . *&c.*
Truly there shall be a purifying tree
Fruitful in its increase.
Some of it let that brewer boil,
Who is over the five-woods cauldron
And the stream of Gwion,
And the serene intercourse,
And the honey and the trefoils,
And the intoxicating mead-horns,
The boon of the Druids
Suitable for the Ruler.—Cadair Taliesin pp. 37, 8.

The reader may not expect to find the building of the Stonehenge alluded to in the legend of Bran. Yet it really is.

Bran was so gigantic, that no house would ever hold him ; and when he crossed to Ireland, it was in part by swimming, but more by wading. Matholwch to gratify Bran, built such a house, as would hold both him and the retinues of the two kings. We are told three things of it ; that it was built extensive, yn vawr, and of bulky materials, yn braff, and with 100 pillars, cant colovyn. p. 95. This round number exceeds the actual number of pillars or uprights by about nine, and falls short of the entire number of stones, erect and horizontal, by about twenty-nine. It is perfectly true, that this mabinogi jumps with the Galfridian and vulgar story, of that great work having been constructed in Erin. But I am willing to concede to any one the full value of that circumstance, so long as I retain for my own use these weightier results ; that the wondrous colonnade of Bran and the Meib Llyr, so far as it had connexion with Erin, came not thither from Africa, but was formed by Irish hands for the reception of British visitors, at the epoch when Bran's cauldron and Branwen the cook went over to that island. For they corroborate the inference, that the circle of anointed stones, brought from Erin to pour the elixir vitæ into the Ambrosian baths, was the cauldron of Bran brought home again from thence. We have seen that chronology and intervals of time are evanescent in this great allegory ; and even the mabinogi, though of low date and authority, does not here offend against Bardism, only against history. One more remark ; it is repeatedly said, that Bran had never before entered any building, and the house of a hundred pillars was the first in which he ever dwelt. Where then had he lived before ? Out of doors, in the forests, among the ancient oaks. So we come round again to our old point, (see Sect. vi.) the subsequency and substitution of the megalithic sanctuaries.

Indeed the fact, that the cauldron of regeneration was brought back from Ireland when the Cor y Cawri was brought from thence, appears so plain in the words of the history, that we may take it for the true account of that transaction. I may further say, that the real motive or cause final of so vast an undertaking was the obtaining of Bran's pair dadeni. For when the king replied to Merddin, that stones

were as good plenty here as in Ireland, it was urged upon him that he must fetch those, by reason of their rare virtue. So that I am borne out [5] in saying, that the main object was not sepulchral, even according to the Tysilionic statements, when they are duly weighed. Yet they should not be so understood, as if the whole structure were the cauldron, to the exclusion of any cauldron, saint greal, or sacred receptacle, more properly so called; for the entire place, within whose purlieus rites and sacraments were concealed, was but improperly such. The cauldron proper is distinguished in the balnea of Geoffrey, from which he correctly represents the medicaments as being immediately dispensed.

The figure of a transported edifice to signify a transferred see or cathedra, though not a very violent one, was more familiar to Britons than to us. For as their rites were driven back by conquest from their old seats to successive new seats, they would often speak of these as of that, of their old sanctuary as being still present, and themselves as being still in it. When the hidden dragons were removed from the Central Place to the extremities of Gwynedd, their place was still the Dinas Emmrys. And far down into the middle ages, those who held certain tenets still held them in Din Emmrys, with allusion to its grove-like and other peculiarities of structure. The idea of place was, in a peculiar degree, associated with that of principle.

Cæsar spoke of Britain as a fountain of religion, to which all the Gauls looked up and resorted for instruction. Bell. Gall. vi. 13. But neither he, Diodorus, Strabo, nor any writers prior or shortly subsequent to the conquest of this island, knew any thing of Ireland being sacred; it was only described as lawless and barbarous. However in the days of Rufus Festus Avienus (who flourished about the commencement of the fifth [6] century, and not long before the return of Bran's head) authors of some standing, prisci, had called Ireland *Insulam Sacram.* Ora Marit. *v.* 108. That consecration of Erin may have been consequent upon the druidical desecration of conquered Britain, and transfer of the cauldron.

[5] Above, Sect. 5. pp. 90, 91.

[6] Biogr. Universelle.

The following lines of a prophecy, introduced into the Praise of Lludd, bear manifest allusion to its shelter in the western island, and to the return of it from thence when the Roman yoke was shaken off; and they are of palmary importance among the remains of those early and pure bards, one of whom said "I was with Bran in Erin."

> "Long before the day of judgment
> "There shall come the day,
> "When learning shall be dawning
> "[From] the ardent lovely land of Erin.
> "To Britain then shall come the uprising
> "Of the Britons from [under] the race of Rome,
> "And I shall have a judge in days of impartiality."
> [So] prophesied the Astrologers
> In the land of the lost ones;
> [So] prophesied the Druids,
> Beyond the sea, beyond the Britons.—p. 75. col. 2.

Under them, and similar in purport, range the lines of the greater Ymarwar Lludd,

> The depth of the prophecy of the diviner of the wrens[7] . . . .
> A far prospect, as far as from Erin,
> Is the bright honour of dismissing the men of Cæsar[8],
> A presage of the formation of sweet tranquillity.
> I know wherefore was caused the battle over the wine-feast.

We may certainly esteem, in our present state of information, that the long interval, extending from the civil reign of Cynobelin father of Caractacus and the mystic reign of Cynvelyn-Bran father of Caradawc to the 14th year of the emperor Honorius, was occupied by the shelter of emigrated authority in Ireland; and not by any systematic substitution, in that country, of megalithic for druidical places. Because the civil power of a conqueror had not, by its suppression of the latter, suggested the use of an operose substitute. Nor had the rise of a new moral power, as yet, imposed the necessity of dissimulation and a false exterior; or converted the main objects of veneration into Duw Celi or concealed deity. For during the bulk of that period Christianity was

[7] See above p. 30.

[8] The opening lines of this obscure poem are as follows;

> Verily there shall come the Roman rabble.
> [But] peradventure the Son of Man prepares somewhat else.

absent from Ireland; and, at its extreme close, was feebly introduced, without government in itself, or recognition by the ruling powers, and with more reason to fear the haunted oaks, than power to fell them. Only in A.D. 431 a Church began to be organized, and in 513 Erin first beheld a baptized monarch. Indeed I think it appears, that the pagans used their old sanctuaries to the end; for Brighid and, much after her, Columkille had their chief establishments of the new faith at the Kill-dara, the Dear-magh, and the Doire Choluimkille, all places of oak-trees. The other sort (such as the stone circle[9] of the Druidess Gealcossach or White-Legs, in Inishowen of Donegal, and various others) were no less inferior in their celebrity and veneration, than they were in magnitude; and it seems to have never become there, as here, the great national idea.

Hector Boece had picked up a story that one Mainus son of Fergus I., and himself third king of the pretended kingdom of Scots, "in order to move the people to religion, superadded to the ancient rites some new and solemn ceremonies to be performed to the gods, so that (in various places, as the case required) immense stones should be placed in a circle, and the largest of them extended towards the south, to be used as an altar, and victims to be there burnt in sacrifice to the immortal gods. In confirmation thereof there exist even to this day those huge stones arranged in circles, which the people call ancient temples of the gods. Whoever sees them will wonder by what art, and by what bodily strength, stones of so great bulk were collected into one place." fol. 15, b. We may thank this fabulist for his intimation, that the stone circles, when introduced, were a thing superadded to the more ancient rites of the island. He seldom spoke so true. But when he tells us that king Main operated that change, his fable is but an identical proposition, as where the builder of the mer-ddin is called Merddin; for the name *Main* simply means *Stones*, and is one of those proper names (for the most part, mythic and allegoric) that were idiomatically formed in the plural, as

[9] Toland's Druids p. 23. ed. 1747.

Rhegau, Tawllogau, Cathleu, Meirchion, Geirion, Gwenddoleu, Morddwydtyllon, Glinau, and what comes nearest, Llechau, Flat Stones, or Stone Tablets. But king Main had his title out of the British, not the Erse, vocabulary; thereby confirming to us the exact contrary of what Boece desired us to believe. It is evident, he was no inventor of the legend; but had met with a tradition of the Britons, probably those of the Strathclyde Cumbria, and interwoven it into the fable of the Kingdom of Scots, without being aware that the falsehood betrayed itself. The circular pyrèum of Kildare had no stone about it, but was enclosed by a round hedge of bushes, virgeo orbiculari sepe.

That the Gillamuires of Erin were servants at Kildare to the Maria Hibernorum, Brighida "the Mother of Christ" and "God's Queen," and that the traditional "old woman" of Erin from whom Merlin obtained the Cor was Brighid, the head of all female religion in Ireland, will receive additional evidence[1] from the lights we have obtained, on the conveyance and re-conveyance of the Cauldron of Regeneration. For the Cauldron of the Bards was connected by them with Mary, in that particular capacity, which forms the portentous feature in St. Brighid, (viz. her *being Christ's mother,*) to the verge of identification. The reason was, that divine objects, considered by them essentially, and as it were sacramentally, as being Christ, were prepared within, and produced out of, that sacred and womb-like receptacle. Such was the Mary of Pendragon, below p. 145; and the Mary of David Beavras,

> The One-Man[2] and our cauldron,
> And our deed[3] and our word
> With the bright pure Mary daughter of Anne.

But the bard Llywarch Prydydd y Moch twice informs us of the surprising fact, that the cauldron was the mother of Christ.

> Christ, creator, emperor, and our mead[4],
> Christ the Concealed, pillar of peace,
> Christ son of Mary and of my cauldron, a pure pedigree!
> Crist mab Mair a'm pair pur vonhedd!

[1] See above p. 119. l. 6, 7.

[2] The Crist Celi. p. 319. Here and p. 357 Ungwr, and in p. 317 Undyn.

[3] Compare "dicto atque factis fecit;" above p. 114.

[4] Canu y Rhys Gryc. in Arch. Myr. 292.

Christ, son of Mary, and of my cauldron of my four elements,
(Christ mab Mair a'm pair o'm pedwar devnydd)
Educate [5] in bardic lore the dauntless!
Christ son of God! nothing is open to a babbler.

Llewelyn Vardd [6] associates Mair, Mary, and pair, the cauldron, in these lines,

It was a day of love when Mary came in her purity
To guard me and our cauldron.

And he seems to go the length of identification in his Hymn to Cadvan, where he speaks of the church of that war saint in Merioneth, as though it contained three altars, of which one was

The altar of Mary OR of the cauldron very sacred and credible,
Allawr Vair *o'r pair* hygrair hygred.—p. 60.

Gwion, the superintendent of Ceridwen's cauldron, who tasted its contents, and was pursued and devoured by her, and born again out of her womb, was a man from Llan-Vair, the Sanctuary of Mary. Hanes Tal. p. 17. I should observe that the word pair, in certain mutations, receives for its initial the aspirated M; insomuch that, while Crist mab Mair is Christ son of Mary, Crist yn mhair as regularly expresses "Christ in the cauldron." And as often as that phrase Mab Mair keeps recurring, a bardic equivocation may be supposed in the *mair;* for since irregular mutations [7] were admitted into ordinary use, they would à fortiori not be scrupled for mystical and disguised uses. The Bangor Wydrin circle of virgæ torquatæ, which the Domnonians imitated from that of Mary Brighid at Kildare, belongs to the Saint Greal, rather than the Bardic Cauldron. But it is all one. And it is said of the Mary to whom that circle was sacred, that the twelve disciples of the Arimathean (keepers of the Greal) ejusdem virginis auxilio et visione, ut credi pium est, in omnibus necessitatibus refocillabantur. W. Malm. p. 293. But to nourish and refresh with viands the twelve who sate at the Round Table was the office of the Greal, and here again Mary is the vessel whose womb contains the holy things.

It will of course be objected to the theory of British druid-

[5] Canu-y Llewelyn p. 297. Dov in awen. [6] P. 357. col. 2.

[7] Ex. gr. in bagad, ban, bid, bodrydav, deunydd, deupi, men, &c. None is more remarkable than vel or velly from mal.

ism, during the ages of its exile "in the land of the lost ones, beyond the sea, beyond the Britons," having nestled in Kildare, that the convent of Kildare was not founded by Brighid till about A.D. 487. Lanigan's Hist. i. pp. 405. 407. But Kildare, the sanctuary of oaks, was what its name implies long before, and the Brut of Kings was composed long after, her days; nor was chronology much regarded in those historical mythi, which related to enduring principles, not transitory individuals. Neither is Brighid a personal name, but an official title; nor is it a title of one person and age only, but of all ages and persons within the limits of that dispensation. Cormac's derivation of the name of Brighid from breo saighit, arrow of fire, seems entirely absurd; and its derivation from brigh, sap, juice, essence, elixir, (that is, from the operations of *the Cauldron*,) is close and obvious, and will presently appear more manifest.

But Erin is said to have been, in ages of fable remotely anterior to history, visited by settlers called Tuatha De Danann, who came directly from Britain. They are reported by some to have previously occupied Scandinavia and Denmark; which I believe to be untrue. *Firstly*, because the tradition (quoted in Ogygia from lib. Lecan.), that they spoke Teutonic, is contradicted in terms, by the more authentic tradition (quoted by E. Llwyd from Keating), that all the old colonies of Erin spoke the Scotbhearla; and in fact, by the nomenclature of the Danannian dynasty, which is of Irish, and not Ostman, names. *Secondly*, because their four northern cities of Failias, Gorias, Finias, and Murias, are names, unless it be the third, purely factitious; and the first of them, palpably formed on that of the Lia-fail. *Thirdly*, because the story is founded on the resemblance of Danes and Danann. Whereas the Danish Vikingar were scarcely, if at all, known on these coasts, when the mythus of the dynasties was composed; and the derivation is invalidated by the competing ones from the Danaans or Greeks, and from the sons of the Goddess Danann. *Fourthly*, because their coming from *the North* has its proper solution on the face of their story; which is, that the Belgians came from the southern ports of Britain, and they from the northern.

It is certain that their real chronology[8] was not a remote one. For the Belgæ were a people of no great antiquity in Britain when Cæsar wrote; but they had been settled in Britain so long ere they went to Ireland, that the peculiar form of the British county called Domnonia, Dyvnaint, or Devon, had fastened upon its occupants the name of Fir Domhnon, which they brought over with them to Ireland. And after five Firbolg reigns of nine kings, the Dananns came over, and obtained the rule during six reigns of nine kings. The chief eminence of the Danann lay in their occult sciences and magic, of which Erin had not before seen the like, and which got them their title of Tuatha De, The Race of Gods. I cannot believe that this emigration was any other than that, above alluded to, when the main body of the Druids of Britain went over to Erin with their sacred rites and treasures. The time very well agrees; and the other circumstances fit exactly. That they did really prevail as gods, not as men, and by excellence, not by numbers, may be inferred from this; that while the Firbolg left to after ages an ample remnant of their population in several provinces, the more durable dynasty of Dananns, when upset, left no territory or people. And the word druidh is so thoroughly synonymous with magician and enchanter in Irish speech, that no other professors of that art seem to have been anciently known to it. Besides which, the story of four cities being assigned to the Dananns in consideration of their learning, under four professors or teachers, strongly indicates that, *viewed essentially*, they were a college or faculty, not a people.

But the Dananns brought with them, among other magical treasures, a cauldron called after the wisest of their kings, Coire an Daghda, the Cauldron of the Daghda. This was the Cauldron of Bran ap Llyr, conveyed to Erin; and brought home in the days of Merddin and the Ambrosians. King Eochaidh is fabled to have reigned over the Danann 80 years, and was surnamed the Daghda (seemingly from dagh, good),

[8] I have stated these points of chronology rather more fully in the Notes to the Irish Nennius, where the curious reader will find them at pp. xcix.—ci.

and the Ollamh, which signifies the professor of science or doctor. He was father to the three Brighids, one of whom was worshipped as the goddess of poetry, another as the goddess of medicine, and a third as the goddess of smiths. From whose names (saith old Cormac O'Cuillenan) a goddess was called Brighit among the men of Hibernia. Corm. Gloss. MS. These three functions of the Brighids leave no doubt of their presiding over the operations of the cauldron, and being called from its brigh.

At a period much older than Brighid the daughter of Dubhtach, a cauldron had been brought to Erin by a race of god-like sorcerers (Druids, in Irish speech), and its professor had three god-like daughters presiding over the three works of the cauldron, incantation, theurgic medicine, and metallurgy. They were all Brighids, ladies of the brigh or elixir. And two of them at least, the chemical and metallurgic, were necessarily *Fire Brighids.* The appellation extended into the period of nominal Christianity; and the pyrèum of Brighid, having long survived the ideas in which it originated, and even the memory of them, continued to burn in the 12th century. On the other hand the Cauldron of the Panacea at Ambri, the Cauldron Mary, was brought over to Britain from Kildare, the fire-temple of Brighid, having been wrested from the hands of the Gilla-muire, or Votary of Mary; and we shall see, as we go on, that it was, in Britain, a Pyrèum or house of Sacred Fire, not by mere inference from the functions of a cauldron, but expressly. It is remarkable, that the cauldron of the Daghda was brought to Erin from the city of Murias. The Dananns came from four cities in the North of Europe, called Failias, Gorias, Finias, and Murias. Keating p. 43. Dr. Todd kindly informs me, that the names are so written in the original manuscript of the Book of Conquests which Keating employed, apud Librum Lecan. The terminations are Latin. But the roots of the names are clearly Gaelic. Failias, whence came the Lia-fail, from fail, destiny; Gorias, (which sent the sword) from gor, pleasure; Finias, (which sent the spear) either from the use or the catachresis [9]

[9] If the legend be older than the settlements of the Ostmen, or northern pirates, in Ireland, the name will, in its origin, have simply meant *white*; like

of finn, white; while Murias, whence came the cauldron of the Brighids, was (as I suppose) the city[1] of Muire or the Maria Hibernorum. The Dananns themselves were a race of poets and poetesses, (see Ogygia 3. 14.) and their true etymology would seem to be dan, a poem, a song, a revelation of destiny. The Dananns were the Druids; subsequently called the Bards, when some dissimulation became requisite; and the word Dananns means the Bards. This true derivation is given by one of the senachies whom father Keating has compiled, though the following division of the names must be esteemed fantastic. Tuatha were the lords or nobility; De, or Gods, were the Druids and priests; and the third class were De Danann (god poets) from dan, art, a poem, a song. Keat. Hist. p. 48.

I think I have vindicated my position, that the interpretation of the Brut is in no way fettered by the time of founding Kildare Abbey, or by any dates of the life and actions of that particular Brighid, who was daughter of Dubhtach. For the Pyrèum and Cauldron of Renovation had existed from an earlier period, (if not from the days when the Druidical college migrated) under a priestess, not to say a Goddess, called Brighid, and agreeing with the British goddess and witch Ceridwen. The precise date at which Mary, and Christ's mother, began to be spoken of in connexion with this strange theosophy, is less apparent. Even that may have been anterior to the daughter of Dabhtach; and the gosgordd Tysiliaw may possibly not have erred in supposing that the guardian of those rites had been considered a Gilla-Muire some years earlier. But on this point we are not called upon to determine.

the Blanchelande of Romance. But if later and alluding to the Finns of Finland or of Finmark, it may partake of that catachresis, by which the Finns were called white pirates, and the Danes or Norwegians black (*i. e.* not Finn) pirates.

[1] This learned tribe had four teachers or professors in its four cities, (of whose names I have no verification from the book of Lecan) Moirfhias in Failias, Erus in Gorias, Arias in Finias, and Semias in Murias. And in these names, I fancy that I detect Greek. For Moira is the Greek of Fail, Eros agrees with the name of Gorias, and Arius (Mavortius) with Finias. But I do not see any root for Semias, unless it be Σήμ, the name of the patriarch Sem; which becomes less improbable, if Murias be also formed upon a proper name.

SECTION VIII.

The Cor was allegorically sepulchral. Mystic sepulchres or prisons of Arthur, Merlin, and Elphin. Crypts, or labyrinth, alluded to by Taliesin and Valvasone. Whether any such are in existence.

Although the sepulchral character of the Stonehenge be rejected, as an inversion of the order of events, and arising ex post facto, it was not improbably a tomb in another sense. Gods and superhuman beings were said to have sepulchres, such as Bel, Jupiter, Agathodæmon, and Hermes Trismagistus; and natural mountains were reverenced as the tombs of gods and heroes. Various cities of Egypt (probably[1] fourteen) pretended to contain the tomb of Osiris; and the mortal remains of Bacchus were[2] preserved by the Thuiades of Delphi, near the oracle. But the statements put forth by Porphyry concerning Pythagoras come nearest both in age and character to our Apollinares Mystici. Pythagoras (he says) wrote an inscription upon a particular place at Delphi, stating it to be the sepulchre of Apollo, who was buried there, after being slain by the serpent Python. Porph. Vita Pythag. p. 30.

Every thing connected with the person (of whom two persons are sometimes made) called Ann ap Lleian, Emmrys Wledig, and Merddin Emmrys, as well as with Uthyr Pendragon, sometimes called his brother, indicates their names to be mystical and their persons fabulous. The journey of Uthyr with Merlin to visit Iogerne is so plainly identical

[1] Because the plurality of tombs is referred to the dilaceration of his body; and the latter was into fourteen fragments. See Plutarch. Is. et Osir. vii. pp. 411, 12. Reiske.

[2] Ibid. p. 440.

with that of Jove and Mercury to visit Alcmena, that it would appear what manner of beings they were; even if we had not the fanatical Bardic dirges of Uthyr and Hercules the Great. Emmrys Wledig, according to the Brut, was buried in the great Cor; and so also says the Bard,

> The grave of Ann ap Lleian is in the Mount
> Of Election, the host-opening lion Emmrys,
> The chief of enchanters Merddin Emmrys. Bedd. st. 14.

Polydore Virgil had read, I know not where, a more remarkable statement; that the Britons in gratitude for the public services of Ambrosius, "erected a rioll sepulcher in the fashion of a crowne of great square stones, even in that place wheare in skirmish hee received his fatall stroke. The tumbe is yet extante in the diocesse of Sarisburie, near to the village called Aumsburie." Polydore vol. i. p. 117. ed. 1846. p. 58. ed. Latin 1557. See Camd. Brit. i. 206. Uthyr Pendragon was also said to be buried in the great Cor; and Constantine ap Cador (the last British king, who *could* have been there interred) to have been laid by the side of Uthyr. That statement ingeniously supports the reality of king Uthyr. But there is reason to think the same Cor was also the mystic tomb of Arthur.

For Arthur was a prisoner three nights in the Caer of Oeth and Annoeth (Severity and Mystery), three nights with the Gwen (the Lady of) Pendragon, and three nights in the prison of Darkness (Cudd) or of Magical Illusion (Hud), under the flat stone of Equal Privilege (Cymmreint) or of Commensurate Size, Cymmeint. Triads i. 50. ii. 49. But this imprisonment was quasi sepulchral; for the teirnos of Arthur is no other than the triduum[3] of the Jews, "the three days and nights in the heart of the earth." The same is Taliesin's "Caer of the grave of the Lord Tetragrammaton;" and, as the Avallon of Arthur's detention was the grave of Joseph the Arimathean, in so much it also was the grave of Tetragrammaton. This is the notion of the overgoel, or superstition, of the lion. For it is the nature[4] of the cub, when born, to lie dead for three days and nights, for he is born

[3] For the duration of which, see Pearson on Creed, Art. 5.

[4] Overgoelion, in Y Greal, p. 285.

dead, and then the lion opens a shout in his ears till the soul enters into him. His prison with Pendragon's Lady (i. e. his own mother) is the womb of the mystic Mair. And in all this occult discourse

τὸ ζῆν μέν ἐστι καθανεῖν,
Τὸ καθανεῖν δὲ ζῆν,

the grave is the womb and the womb is the grave ; death is a pregnancy, the teirnos or triduum is the gestation, and the dadeni or renovation is the birth. In this vein Meilyr Brydydd said of the Crist Celi, that

His being in the *womb of martyrdom*
Is the pregnancy of which good Mary bears the burthen.
Bod Iesu yn *mru merthyri*
Mair mad ymborthes y beichogi.

But the same womb is also Ceridwen's cauldron of regeneration, out of which the dead were (in some way) born again.

In that fanatical effusion the Dirge of Pendragon (of which the first 19 lines are spoken by him, the remainder by the poet in his own person), after Uthyr has said among other hard sayings,

Am I not called the exceeding blue?
My girdle was the rainbow, against my foes.
Am I not a prince in darkness? . . .
Have I not accustomed my wrathful one to blood,
In the bold sword-stroke, before the sons of the Giant-wall[5] (Cawr-mur)? . .
Did I not give to Henpen
The great sword of the very great enchanter? . . .
The world[6] would not be, if my offspring were not, &c.

the ancient Bard thus accosts Uthyr,

Thy son, thy shout-of-bards[7],
Thy Mary, are Father-given.
Let my tongue,
To utter the dirge,
Be [heard] from the stone-work
Of the defending-rampart of the world.

[5] See Cadair Teyrnon *v.* 13.

[6] Concerning the meanings of the word *world* here, and in the following quotation, see Sect. X.

[7] Perhaps the object of that shout, per antonomasiam.

Dy vab, dy veirddnad,
Dy Vair, dawndad.

To appreciate such a passage, it should be noticed that the Gwen of Pendragon, made Iogerne by the Latinists, was simply Eigyr, i. e. the Virgin. Arthur's nativity was the same with that of Merddin Emmrys; mab Eigyr and mab y Lleian being to the same purpose. For y lleian[8] means the nun or vowed virgin.

In the Graves of Warriors st. 44 it is said, after giving three other titles[9] to the person buried,

> Annoeth byd bedd y Arthur,
> A mystery of the world is the grave of Arthur;

and Cuhelyn had said of the Stonehenge "by my truth our Cor is a lovely annoeth," mywir cor ein mirein annoeth. This peculiar word *annoeth* is applied to the three nights prison, to the sepulchre, and to the Cor. But though we have seen the Arthurian sepulchre called an annoeth, we have not yet seen *the Prison* of Oeth and Annoeth numbered among *Sepulchres*. That link, however, will be nearly supplied by the 30th triplet of the Beddau. Yet even there, contrary to the invariable structure of his triplets, the author has declined the use of the word Bedd.

> The tribe of Severity (Oeth) and Mystery (Annoeth),
> And the man that is Revealed (Noeth),
> And their warriour, and their youth—
> Seeking for them removes my jeopardy.

That is to say, it is a holy and laudable pursuit, acceptable, and working my salvation.

But there is more to be said, on the Caer of Oeth and Annoeth. Oeth is harsh or severe, and an-noeth (for it is

[8] And so does Nonna, mother of Dewi Brevi.

[9] March, the horse, gwythwr, the wrathful one, (the word applied to him by Uthyr, in the 4th line of the first quotation,) and Gwgawn Cleddyvrudd, Grim-visage Red-sword. A Triadist has attempted to identify Red-sword with the Gwgawn of Aneurin; but there is no authority for so doing. See Sect. X. p. 199. Seeing that all the beddau have a place or description, and that these three have otherwise none, they must all agree with annoeth Byd. But gwythwr is an appellation of Arthur, cleddyvrudd is similar to appellations of Arthur, (see Note p. 212. No. 3.) and march is a term eminently significant in the mysteries of the Cor. Therefore I conclude the four appellatives in this triplet to be cumulative, and one in object; as are also, and more evidently, the two in the preceding triplet.

not an-oeth, un-harsh) signifies un-naked, un-discovered, and so, hidden or mysterious. Concerning that Caer a fabulous, but significant, legend has been composed, to this effect. Caradawc ap Bran ap Llyr, disdaining to owe his safety to his woods and forests, burned them all down, and challenged the Romans to fight him on the open ground (oeth) instead of the annoeth or covered ground; sending an embassy to the Emperour to announce that it now was all become tir oeth. The reader will see the folly of explaining oeth, open or clear, when it rather meant (if applicable in this case at all) rugged and difficult, as the woodlands were. Caradawc was victorious; and so, his men proved themselves equally good upon oeth and upon annoeth ground. Then his uncle Manawyddan ap Llyr collected the bones of the Romans upon the Maes Mawr near Margam, and built a prison with these bones mixed with lime, for the confinement of captives. He built it circular in form, vast in size, and the larger bones were on the outer face, and within the circle were many prisons of smaller bones, and cells under ground. And this was called the prison of Oeth and Annoeth, in memorial of what Caradawc had achieved upon open ground and covered ground. But, for its construction of bones, it was also termed the Caer Esgyrn or Enclosure of Bones. Iolo MSS. p. 185. 597. p. 263. 670, 1.

Let us see, by how many tokens, working certainty in their combination, we recognize the Cor Ambri in this Caer. It is the Caer Annoeth, and that was the Cor Annoeth. That is the Caer Caradawc, and this Caer was the memorial of Caradawc. That stands upon the Maes Mawr, and this stood upon a Maes Mawr. That is built with open ribs of stone and skeleton-wise, and this was built of bones. That had its exterior circle of the largest stones, and two interior systems of smaller stones; while this had the large bones set in the outer enclosure, and the smaller bones disposed in the interior partitions. Both were of stupendous size; and both were of a circular form. I know not, what more can be desired. But there is yet this curious point to be observed (in confirmation of my Sixth Section), that the prison of Oeth and Annoeth was constructed on a great and open

plain, after Caradawc ap Bran had destroyed the woods[1] in which he previously found shelter. And *the circle of bones* was an express memorial of the abandonment of *the woods*.

The prison of Oeth and Annoeth is changed, by the author of the Trioedd y Crinwas, into the gogov (cavern) of Wyth and Anwyth, i. e. Wrath and Unwrathfulness. Myvyr. iii. p. 247. And it would seem, as if the authors of that Triad had taken an-oeth as the negation of oeth. There was every disposition to ring the changes upon words.

The archimage Merddin Emmrys and the monarch Emmrys Wledig were not two beings, but one Ambrosius considered in two lights. Merddin Emmrys was also a captive, as Arthur was, detained in mystical durance; prison and sepulchre combined. And since Ambrosius the Gwledig[2] or Aurelian was buried in the Cor Emmrys, that same Cor should therefore be the place, which (it is said) Merlin Ambrose built, and wherein perpetually confined he lives in death.

> This is the ancient memorable grot
> Which erst did Merlin, sage enchanter, make,
> (The fame whereof has reach'd your ears, I wot)
> Where cheated him the Lady of the Lake.
> Laid in the sepulchre beneath it, rot
> His mortal members. . . . . .
> But with the corpse the living spirit dwells
> . . . . . .
> His voice yet lives, and to the ear it swells
> Sweetly and clearly from the marble tomb,
> And ever both of past and present things,
> To him who makes enquiry, answer brings.
>
> Orl. Fur. iii. 10, 11.

The tomb of this dissembled and Mithriacal deity was an oracle, like the Neo-Pythagorical tomb of Apollo Pythius. But Arthur's curation by Morgen, and his long living death in the Ynys Avallon, after his slaying at the Cam-llan, is the same as the life-in-death of Merddin Emmrys. And the confinement of the latter was certainly no real sepulture. For the Lady of the Lake enclosed him within the shade of a

[1] See above p. 134. The House of Bran is a similar mabinogistic description of the same great and sacred object.

[2] Conventional equivalents among the Post-Roman Britons.

blooming hawthorn-tree, more firmly than in the strongest tower. From thence Merlin declared he could never be set free, though his prison was neither stone, nor iron, but air. Roman de Merlin CVVII. CVVVIII.

The ideal nature of these imprisonments or sepultures is seen in Arthur's Prison of Severity and Mystery, the Oeth and Annoeth; for it had another prisoner besides him, by name Gair ap Geirion or ap Geirioedd, Word son of Words (Triad[3] i. 50. iii. 61), together with his family and the authorities of his country[4]; and that, coupled with the sepulture of Lludd's son, the personified Tawllogau or Compacts of Silence, in the place of bloodshed and affliction, shows that the mystic tomb was a crypt for private synods and secret discourses. The famous imprisonment of the Half-speaking Llyr by his step-son Euroswydd Wledig, son of Penarddun daughter of Beli Mawr, or as others say, by the Romans, is that very restraint of speech (of his iaith, his gair, and his geirion) from which he is surnamed Lled-iaith. And both are true; that the Romans imprisoned him by the terrour of their coercion, and that his own friends the British mystics did so, by their prudential rules and system of disguise.

The Spoils[5] of Hades is a poem exclusively theosophical or magical, and erroneously said to contain historical allusions. It commences with reference to the prison-sepulchre of Arthur, describing in all six such sanctuaries; though I should rather say, one such under six titles. The Caer Sidin or Sidi, an unexplained name, was the place of the cauldron[6] and of the chief-bard's throne; and the prison of Gwair, otherwise Oeth and Annoeth, is said to have been at the Caer Sidin.

> Adore the sovereign, the dignified king[7] of blood,
> If he spreads his supremacy over the shore of the world.

[3] Otherwise Gwair ap Gweirioedd. Triad ii. 49.

[4] Rhaith gwlad.

[5] Preiddeu, literally *Flocks* or *Herds*, but in the secondary sense *Spoils* or *Plunder*, which is the meaning here.

[6] Hanes Tal. st. ult. Meib Llyr *v.* 11. *v.* 46.

[7] Gwaed rhi. Printed gwad rhi.

Perfect was the prison of Gwair in Caer Sidi,
Through the Apostles Pwyll [8] and Pryderi.
Before him no one entered therein.
The faithful youth was he whom the sad-blue chain confined;
And for the spoils of Hades bitter shall be thy song,
And till doomsday shall be preserved in bard's-worship.
Thrice the fulness of Prydwen did we enter therein,
None but seven were exempt (dyrrhaith) from Caer Sidi.

Mr. Sharon Turner, though contemplating these things only from the outside, shrewdly saw, that the seven here exempted with Arthur are the seven who returned alive from Bran's voyage with the cauldron to Erin, Taliesin figuring in both hebdomads. Vindication p. 284. The epochs of Bran's bequeathing his head to his native land, and that of its disclosure by Arthur, coalesce; and, chronology and history disappearing, the mysteries of the cauldron alone remain. After describing in dark words the visits of Arthur to the six caers of Sidi, Mediwid, Rigor, Goludd, Manddwy, Gochren, each with the exemption of the seven, Taliesin fills up the seventh and last place with these concluding words,

The grave of the holy one is vanishing from [*beneath* [9] *?*] the altar.
I will praise the Sovereign, the great dignitary.
I will not be sad, for Christ is my portion.

The sepulchre of his holy one vanishes away into doctrinal allegory, as doth the man himself and all his story, and

"A mystery of the world is the grave of Arthur."

It is remarkable that when you meet with a person, whose real history is of little credibility, and bears the strongest symptoms of mythology, you may expect to find a mythical evanescent grave. Elphin son of Gwyddno, otherwise styled Rhuvawn Bevyr, the Rubicund Radiant, is such a personage. Accordingly the bard of *the Graves of Warriors*, in the two

[8] Prudence and Anxiety. Pwyll was called Chief of Hades, and the cauldron, Pwyll's Cauldron. Pryderi was with the cauldron in Erin, in Bran's days, and afterwards superintended it in Britain.

[9] Literally "from the grave of the altar," o bedd allawr. I cannot say whether, *Firstly*, this means the space over which the altar lies, as in the compound troedvedd; or *Secondly*, whether the altar and grave are in apposition, so as to read (as it were) bedd-allawr, altar-grave, which opinion may consist with some recondite points of Bardism; or *Thirdly*, whether the syllable bedd has been erroneously repeated by the copyist, instead of o dan allawr.

stanzas immediately preceding the annoeth of Arthur, sings thus.

> Is not my groan for Elphin ?
> To prove my bard-craft
> Primary above the first,
> Rhuvawn's grave is the Ruler's portion ;

and again, after the same question, and the same boast of bardic profundity,

> Earthy (or, earthly) is the grave of the youthful Rhuvawn,

the boasted mystery here being, that the unearthly should have a grave in the earth.

His famous imprisonment, as in Arthur's case, is the same thing as his sepulture ; and Taliesin's language concerning it, of which there are various readings to the first line, is worthy of observation.

> I know every pillar in the { cavern of the West, / circles of the West, / arcanum of the West, / land of your King,
> I will liberate Elphin from the belly of the tower of stone-work.
> p. 27. p. 34. p. 48.

Comparing the three singular phrases with the one plural, we should suppose that the twr meinin consisted of more than one pillar-circle. Elphin's gogov[1] gorllewin or cavern of the West is the same as the gogov Wyth ac Anwyth ; and, probably, as the gogov y Dinas, where Owen Glendower lies slumbering for ages, till the fatal hour awakes him to assert the independence of Wales. But *the Dinas* is a phrase denoting the great megalithic sanctuary of Britain. See below, Sect. 10. The fourth reading "land of your King" is the same as Elphin's first grave, "the Ruler's portion." Elsewhere, the Bard will liberate Elphin "from gloomy fetters," or "golden fetters," p. 21, p. 48, and again, "from exile," p. 22.

The mystical nature of Elphin's restraint appears, in the inconsistency of a tower of stone-work and gloomy fetters with exile. But Elphin is the Crist Celi of the higher

[1] Why the liberator of Elphin styled himself "Taliesin *ben beirdd y gorllewin* a ollwng Elphin," and why Elphin was confined in the gogov or cyrau *gorllewin*, is uncertain. But the former expression suggests that Britannia collectively, and not the district of Arvon, is called the West.

Bardism; on the tenets and proceedings of which king Maelgwn, at one time of his life, imposed those restraints, which you may call their burial, imprisonment, or banishment. Those restraints do not materially differ from the imprisonment of Gair ap Geirion, and the concealment of Bran's head; and the very word which I have above rendered "*arcanum* of the West" is go-gair gorllewin, the half-speech, or imperfectly uttered speech, of the West. Other sepultures of ideal beings occur in the Beddau, especially that of the war-dæmon known as the Bull of Battle. That no man is meant, may be collected from st. 66. Yet in st. 69 he is said, under his usual style of Tarw Trin, to be interred "on the hill-side yonder;" and in st. 5, under the synonyme of Tarw Torment, to lie "in the monument of the Cor hill." The mystery of the one and the expressions of the other alike direct us to the great sanctuary, as the ideal sepulchre.

It is worthy of note in the religious architecture of antiquity, that the tabernacle and temple of Israel were not provided with subterranean cells or galleries. Their having been oracular lends a force to this remark, which does not apply to the Caaba and other mosques, in which the man only worships, but the Deity is not supposed to act. The system being thus far homogeneous with the pagan, the means employed come into fair comparison. Upon this very point the Israelites represented their God as applauding himself, and contrasting himself to advantage with the Magi of Cyrus, "I have not spoken in secret, in a dark place of the earth," and elsewhere saying, "Come ye near unto me, hear ye this, I have not spoken in secret from the beginning." Isai. xlv. 19. xlviii. 16. What was here[2] truly said, was untrue of the religions of the Gentiles. It was false of Egypt, whose mysteries[3] were guarded by the god Sigalion

Ore premens vocem digitoque silentia suadens,

and of whose labyrinthus the terrific contrivances, subterraneous dwellings, and excavated galleries are described in

[2] And which the authors of the Doctrinal Kabbalism seem to me to impugn and contradict.

[3] In temples κρυπτὰ καὶ σκότια κατὰ γῆς. Plut. Is. et Osir. p. 416.

Pliny xxxvi. 19. It is needless to multiply the instances of a known truth. A system partly worked by artifice must have its machinery under the stage. Voices, eruptions of fire, boiling up of water and steam, terrible rumbling noises, and phantoms dimly seen in dark places, were means of exciting fear and wonder. But all these remarks refer to deception, and to the system inasmuch as disbelieved by its teachers; and it does not touch the system, inasmuch as believed and fanatically cherished by them. Some, and perhaps all, of these religions attached importance to rites, which it was profane, unsafe, and morally impossible to exercise but in deep secresy, and with the participation of a chosen few. And, in some states of man's wayward and bewildered mind, those dark and esoteric devices became the all-absorbing and, as it were, the only idea.

In peculiar connexion both of date, of doctrine, and of temper, with those of whom we are now treating, stands the famous and widely diffused Rite of Mithras. In common with them, that Rite went the length of pretending to be[4] Christian. But that religion of secret and most numerous and severe initiations, of oeth and annoeth, was almost entirely carried on in its crypt, called the Specus or Spelæum Mithræ; INVICTUM spelæa sub atra[5] recondunt. Supposing that the society of Apollinares Mystici were not specifically the same as the Mithratic, and also as the Neo-Druidic, we shall still find it difficult to suppose, that any of them could work their system with no other machinery than some large stones in a plain. It may well be thought that the Cor of Emmrys should have had secret recesses, bearing proportion to the expense and greatness of the work, the ambitious craft of its authors, and the peculiar need of concealment which their outward professions imposed upon them. The Druids (says Mela) taught their doctrines either in impenetrable woods or in a cavern, aut in specu aut in abditis saltibus. iii. cap. 2. This cavernal initiation is the same thing, proportioned to the inartificial and sylvan habits of the people.

We have (I believe) found the new woods and groves of

[4] See S. Augustin. in Johann. Evang. Tract. vii. s. 6.

[5] S. Paulinus.

the altered system; but we have yet to find its caves. Such excavations are recognized in the Brut of Kings; for king Llyr was buried by his daughter Cordeylla in a vault under the bed of the river Sore in Leicestershire, a place originally built in honour of the god Janus, and in which all the workmen of the city used to hold a solemn anniversary, before they began upon the new year. Galfrid. ii. 14. Roberts's Tysilio p. 45. Here is another mystic unsepulchral *tomb*, again identifying itself with the triadical *prison* of Llyr. But the difficulty is to fix, whether the tomb prison of the Half-speaker, or any other such, was a real place of that sort, or was merely that law of secresy, the Eleusinian "key of gold on the tongue," which made the open air an impassable prison to Merddin Emmrys. So the concealment of Lludd's secret dragons, in a cavity underneath the Dinas Emmrys, and that of his taw llogau or compacts of silence, under the Cor Emmrys, may be either literal or allegorical expressions of the subterraneous.

But we must remember, that eyes were to be shunned as well as ears; for if nothing was done, there was nothing to be silent about. We can also appeal to the assertion in the mabinogi of Oeth and Annoeth, that the Prison of Bones had, besides its outer and inner circles, certain other prisons (carcharau craill) under the ground. And the Triplets of Atchievements give separately, and at distant intervals (tr. 18 & 24), the two atchievements of Manawyddan ap Llyr, the building of the Caer of the Bones of Oeth and Annoeth, and the making of the sunk or subterraneous prison (carchar pyd) of Oeth and Annoeth.

Connected with these gigantic labours, I think there was somewhere a system of chambers, galleries etc.: approaching to the labyrinthine character. The Incantation of Cynvelyn is one of those that may be termed the Gododin poems, meaning such as allude to the bloody banquet, in Aneurin's phraseology about Eiddin and Cattraeth. Some of its language seems rather strong to this point. It should be premised that it has reference throughout to the sacred fire of Cynvelyn (see Sect. XI.), called his gwarchan or talisman, and typified by the furze in blossom.

Rhag cannwynawl can	With the habituated to song (Bard)
Lluch i'r dwg dyvel	Are flashes of light to lead the tumult
Disgynial allel,	In ability to descend
Trwy hoel, trwy hem,	Through spikes, along brinks,
Trwy gibglawr agen,	Through the opening of trapdoors,
Ac eur ar drein.	And the gold upon prickles (furze).
Galarddwyn dyvydd	Bearing woe shall come
Y vynassydd Velyn,	The threatener of Melyn (Belenus),
Y greu o'i gylchyn	With blood round about him
Celedig ewyn	Covering the froth
Medd melyn.	Of the yellow mead.
Eil creu o'i gylchyn	Like blood shall surround him
Rhag cadeu Gynvelyn !	In the battles of Cynvelyn ! . . . .
Eithynin neud gudd blenydd ?	The furzebush, is it not radiance in the gloom ?
. . . . .	. . . . .
Ev nyved nydd nodded e cawsant.	Of the sanctity of the winding refuge they [the enemy] have possessed themselves.

This sounds, as if the possessors of the secret had an advantage over their opponents from their faculty of descending into chambers and galleries, cunningly contrived, and artfully obscured or illuminated. There was a popular notion of such an infernal maze, extending from the bottom of Rosamond's well near Woodstock; which is precisely the mode in which Ariosto describes the entrance to the sepulchre and oracle of Merlin.

Allusions to Ariosto of course seem appeals to fancy, rather than tradition; yet I can almost doubt how that is, when I consider the extraordinary contents of the Caccia of Valvasone[6]. I should premise, to those who may not be aware of it, that the magic or theosophy of the Post-Roman Britons, was from the manifest tenor of its language, and even avowedly, of that kind which is called Alchemical or, sometimes, Rosicrucian.

That poet describes the chase of Arthur, hunting in a forest, and pursuing a wonderful hind. He followed her, until he arrived at *a small mount, situate in a plain, and*

[6] I regret, that I have never been able to meet with this author's Lancilotto di Lago; nor even to ascertain its existence in England. For it would be curious to see, what he might choose to say, who seems to have been so knowing.

covered with stones, seemingly placed in a circle, *in giro*, which mount contained within itself a great excavation.

Avea nel cupo ventre antro ascoso.

Into that mount the hind entered, by a difficult path, which went winding among the stones that covered the mount, in such manner that it was hard for those who entered to find again the aperture by which they came in.

Tra sasso e sasso in giro iva un sentiero
Stretto, ed occulto a ritrovar il foro . . . .
Quivi se mise l'animal leggiero.

Caccia iv. st. 144.

The king dismounted, and followed her through subterranean tracks into the valley of the metallurgic nymphs. He saw the preparations for earthquakes and volcanic fires. He saw the flux and reflux of the sea, to and from the inmost caverns of the earth; and in the same place he beheld Demogorgon, whom "Nature harbours in that turbid retreat," and admired his vast horns and terrific aspect. At last he penetrated to the palace of Morgana, in which he saw represented the sun, the planets, and the twelve signs, and beheld the goings forth of the astral influence,

E vede come e di pace e di guerra,
D'odio e d'amor, cade l'influsso in terra.

And there he received from her hands the sword Excalibar[7].

Valvasone's account of this place is a just description of the Cor upon Mount Ambri; and goes to identify it with the mystical Ynys[8] Avallon. All that he says of it is in wide departure from the tales, which he might have read in Galfridus and Giraldus. But when we farther see, that he places within its recesses the cauldron of deified nature or Ceridwen, it truly moves our wonder whence this matter can have come into his pages. It prompts a suspicion that the lore of the Templars, or whoever they were that would have set up the Kingdom of the Saint Greal, had been British,

[7] Compare the account of Arthur's subterranean palace, in Gervas of Tilbury, Otia Imperialia, ii. cap. 12.

[8] For that was Morgana's residence, and there Caledvwlch (called in romance Excalibar) was forged.

more, and otherwise, than we are well aware of. I have passed over important portions of his statement, because they bear upon the question (which I am keeping aloof, for the present), *what* the great mysteries of Ceridwen may have been. But whoever will compare his horned Demogorgon situate amid the fountains of the deep waters, with the monster of Caer Satanas in the Dyhudd. Elphin p. 20, 1, will see how near he comes to the language of Bardism.

If subterraneous recesses existed at all, they might now exist nearly in the same state as when Cynric drove away the Britons. The liberator of Elphin seems to boast a knowledge of some such secrets,

I know every pillar in the cavern of the West.

And he not only flourished in years anterior (as well as subsequent) to the battle of Searobyrig, and when the Cor Emmrys was in the uninterrupted possession of the nation who built it; but it is very doubtful, whether Maelgwn's life extended so late as the year of that battle, and whether all the Elphin poems were not actually composed during the British existence of that sanctuary.

Mons. Cambry, in his account of the avenues of Carnac, reported the tradition he had received on the authority of a poor old man; that one stone conceals an immense treasure, and that all the others were erected in order to hide it more effectually; and that a calculation, of which the key was only to be found in the Tower of London, could alone indicate the position of the treasure. This tradition, divested of its popular form, and of man's perpetual dream of buried gold, is no absurdity. There may be chambers underneath, to the position of which there was some index stone.

But although the substance of these remarks may be recommended both by considerations a priori, and corroborations of testimony, there is too much room for doubt as to the form in which they are true. For many of the uses above alluded to might be effected by complicated structures, erected above the earth's surface, and not excavated beneath it; and consequently long since destroyed. Some language is, however, employed, which rather points our thoughts to

an annwvn or hades, somewhere dug out beneath the surface of the ground. Nor is it inconsistent, to suppose that both may have been true.

Some illustration of these hypotheses may be found in the subterranean, or at least sub-tumular, megalithic gallery[1] of New Grange in Meath, forming the post of a cross, of which the horn or chancel, and the antennæ or transepts, contain circular lavacra or rock-basins. Archæol. 2. p. 254. Ledwich p. 44. Vallancey 5. p. 544. And the similar work, without basins, lately discovered at Dowth, hard by. Wakeman Arch. Hib. p. 31. In regard of date, I esteem it no good answer even to Ledwich, that the cross is "a symbol which neither in the old or new world can be considered as peculiar to Christianity." ibid. p. 35. Perhaps no one does consider it such. But there may be good reason to doubt, if that form was ever a sacred one, eo nomine, *before* Christianity ; though a figure with expanded wings, a sluice key to turn on the Nile water[2], a hammer, or a sword, or other things, may in fact have been more or less cruciform. The white cross of Cuzco was celebrated, though not worshipped ; and the Mexican sculptures exhibit a saltier or cross of St. Andrew, a truncate cross, and an erect horned cross supporting a bird. See Rycaut's Garcilaso p. 30. Aglio tom. i. pl. i. iv. pl. 24. ibid. pl. 41. But the kingdoms of Anahuac and Cuzco in the new world range with the middle ages in date ; or, at any rate, have no pretensions to pure paganism. See below, Sect. XII. The Manichee Cross of Light was not indeed Christian, yet it came out of Christianity. Even Thor's hammer (which latterly served for hammer or holy cross, as occasion required, see Olaf Tryggv. c. 23) was, I should think, a post-christian and as it were a gnostical cross ; and as remote from original paganism, as were the week of seven days and his fifth day.

[1] Which bears much analogy to the contents of the Fairy Toote tumulus at Nemnet or Nennet, three miles from the famous Stanton Drew. Collinson's Somerset 2. 169. Rev. T. Bere in Gent. Mag. vol. 59. p. 392. vol. 62. p. 1082. 1181.

[2] The crux ansata, or truncate cross attached to a ring, which is a symbol of Life, and a phonetic of the long O, has been thought to be that key of Ægyptian life ; le Tho a ense, la clef des canaux de l'Egypte. Lacour sur les Hieroglyphiques. p. 209. See Champoll. Gramm. Eg. p. 36. 61.

But in any case I cannot lightly believe that these crypts, constructed *σταύρου δίκην* or *σταυροτύποι*, bore no relation to Christianity, and preceded its æra. There were serpent symbols ancient enough, but there was never a Dracontium; and so, even if we granted a proper Cross symbol, we should scarcely help you to a *ναὸς σταυροτύπος*. The proof of one thing, if proved, would not establish another. Nor is the antiquity of such symbolical architecture[3] a light matter to assume. With the surmises, that alphabets were not invented, nor the Ægyptian pyramids built before the New Grange, I know not how to deal, because I cannot discern the mutual relation of those topics. These crypts should rather belong to the ill-known, belied, and mystified period, between the "Scoti in Christum credentes," precursors of Palladius, and the death of Columkille; a period including the time, at which the circular pyrèum of the Killdara began to call itself Christian.

[3] Assuming, as Mr. Wakeman does, and as the three lavacra may suggest, that it is symbolical. From the mere opening of side chambers out of a sepulchral gallery, as at Salingolpe (Dennis's Etruria 2. 136), not being symbolical, none of these arguments would arise.

SECTION IX.

Saxon name Stonehenge. Its derivation from hanging impugned. That from Hengest advocated. The history of Hengest at Ambri asserted and explained. The name Ælenge considered.

It is conducive to the history of that remarkable place to consider its appellations, and especially the English one, Stonehenge. That name first[1] appears in an historian of merit, Henry Archdeacon of Huntingdon. He reckons as the second of four mirabilia of England, Stanenges, ubi lapides miræ magnitudinis in modum portarum elevati sunt, ita ut portæ portis superimpositæ videantur, nec potest aliquis excogitare, quâ arte tanti lapides adeo in altum elevati sunt, vel quare ibi constructi sunt. Lib. i. p. 299. Franc. 1601. His striking description must be that of an eye-witness; but no tradition seems to have then reached his ears. When he published his first history (which came down to 1135, as Robertus de Monte assures us) Henry had never seen the work of Geoffrey. Nennius, his guide in British affairs, was silent; and he regarded this work simply as a wonder, unconnected with any date or circumstances, or even with any particular nation. But afterwards in his Epistle to Warinus Brito (which is said, I know not on what grounds, to have been written[2] about 1139) he mentions having met with[3] that

[1] Assuming Geoffrey to have published after 1135; a point of chronology on which evidence is deficient.

[2] Misprinted 1039 in Fabricii Bibl. Med. Lat. viii. p. 625.

[3] This circumstance suffices to convince me of the spuriousness of the concluding words annexed to Geoffrey's last book, Reges verò Saxonum . . . . . transferre curavi. Independently of their foolishness in commanding Archdeacon Henry to be silent, because he did *not* possess what Geoffrey was

work at the Abbey of Bec in Normandy; and, adopting its narration, he says, "Uterpendragon, id est Caput Draconis, juvenis præstantissimus, filius [*sic*] scilicet Aurelii Ambrosii, choream gigantum attulit ab Hiberniâ, quæ nunc vocatur Stanhenges." Ep. H. Hunt. ad calcem Guiberti Novigent. ed. Dacherii p. 739. This later spelling of Henry is followed by John of Tinmouth. Geoffrey Lib. xi. 4, as printed Lugdun. 1687, gives Stranheng. The copies of Robert Wace, who wrote in 1155, have Senhange, Stahengues, Estanges, and Estanhangues; and those of Layamon, Stanhenge and Stonhenge.

The general opinion is that the word Stanhenges denotes Hanging Stones. But an historical fact suggests a different etymon, namely, that at this spot the memorable collision between Hengest duke of the Saxons, and the Britons, took place. And therewithal Simon of Abingdon, in his chronicle of the abbots of that place, called it the Stanhengest. ap. Ussher Brit. Eccles. p. 228. ed. 2. et ap. Dugdale cit. Gibson's Camden i. 207. Gough's i. 156. Mr. Gough pronounces it "of no weight." But, though Simon's authority may be such, the etymology has weight; and will be considered in its order, after weighing the received derivation.

It must perhaps be admitted, that stones laid across others in the manner of architraves or lintels may have been termed *hanging*. But, although it is easy to imagine phrases more improper, it is surely not a proper one. Wonder is excited, not by their equilibrium or suspension, but (as Henry says truly) by their elevation.

But it is a graver question, whether the Saxons and English, if minded to call these Stones *Hanging*, could for that reason have called them *Stanhenges*. I am aware that, in the absence of a better, that sense was long ago given to the word; and that Robert Wace construes it

Pierres pendues en Français. 8388.

But the question is whether the construction thus given to it

placing in his possession, it is incredible that Henry should thus casually discover a work which its author had addressed to him by name. The work of Geoffrey ends with *permitto*.

could be the true one, and express the meaning of its original authors.

Whether noun and noun, noun and adjective, or noun and verb be compounded, the subject, or that whereof the other is affirmed, follows the predicate, or that which is affirmed of it. To which truth involuntary testimony is borne by those, who explain Stanhenge *Hanging-stone*, but durst not themselves say *Stone-hanging*. A convenient example of this rule is offered by the Saxon compounds, scire-biscop, bishop of the diocese, and biscop-scire, diocese of the bishop; and, to come nearer to our case, vocantur Biscepstane, id est, Lapides Episcopi. W. Malm. de Pont. p. 357. The word henge-clif, a hanging cliff, cited by Lye from Ælfric, is exactly in point; and so perhaps is the name[4] of Hengesdun, or Hengston Hill, in Cornwall. In Shetland[5], a small peak rising abruptly from the high platform of a hill is called Hanger Heog, that is, Hanging Peak, in compliance with the rule; which, on the other hand, is equally complied with in our names, like Birch-hanger. Out of thirty-one compounds in Lye's Dict. which begin with *stan*, and out of thirty-seven beginning with *steen* in Hexham's Dutch Dict., there is not one which violates this law. Hence we may judge the probability of Stanhenges having been said for Hengestanas.

Innumerable also are the names of places in England beginning with *stone* and *stan;* that is, whereof stone has been predicated in English and in Saxon. Some are peculiarly relevant, as owing their names to some of the chief megalithic erections; namely Stanton Drew; and the Stanton field, situate near the Rollrich, and itself containing the Devil's Quoits; and Stanton Moor in Derbyshire, upon and near to which are collected the greatest samples of this kind, that the midland counties exhibit. Gibson's Camden i. 293. Archæologia xii. 48. If the syllables of Stanton were to be

[4] The spelling of the earliest writer Marianus, Hengesdoun, as well as the modern, is to that effect. Florence of Worcester has Hengestdun, and Chron. Sax. at 835 Hengestesdune. The meaning of the two latter should be, as Camden saw, Equorum Collis. For allusions to Duke Hengest are here absurd. Yet I suspect these later authors intended such an allusion.

[5] Hibbert's Shetland p. 406.

inverted, we should declare at once, that it is not English; or rather, that it is English for something different, for lapis vicanus not for vicus lapideus. If Stanhenge had any meaning at all, it should be suspensio saxatilis, an almost dithyrambic inversion of the thought, *πέτρωδες αἰώρημα.*

Yet, so far as Dr. Stukeley's idea can be penetrated, he seems to rely on such a construction, founded on the popular use of the noun[6] *a hang* for steep ground. He evidently felt the force of the rule, and sought to evade it, while he shunned the mention of it. In that view, he harped on the phrase *a stone gallows*, in order that *stone* becoming an adjective might be the predicate. Abury p. 12. Stonehenge p. 8. p. 47. In the same view he cites Ælfric's gloss of rode-hengenne, patibulum, as the Saxon for "a hanging rod or pole, i. e. a gallows, and Stone-henge is a stone-gallows." This is rather inconsistent; for the alleged noun a *henge* or *hang* is brought in to satisfy the rule, and this is adduced to get rid of the rule! But I cannot readily acquiesce in that solœcism.

For it seems to me no absurd supposition, that Rode-hengenne was formed from the noun hengen or henegenn, a prison, or house of correction, and signified "a patibulary [engine and quasi] place of punishment." See Dr. Bosworth's A. S. Dict. In which case the analogies of the language are duly preserved. But if we must refer it to hangen, the passive participle of hangan or hon, to hang, I should still refuse the solœcism, by rendering it cruce suspensus, cruci fixus. It would thus become similar to crucifix; which is declined in the neuter gender crucifixum, to express the popular meaning of *cross with man on it;* but of which the etymon or prime sense is *man upon cross.* Assuming the noun rode to have been used[7] profanely, in the sense of gealga, and not confined to the Holy Rood, still this compound word rode-

[6] See Webster's Dict. in *Hang.*

[7] The negative may be supposed from the silence, or the words, of the lexicographers Lye, Ihre, Junius, Jamieson, and Haldorson. It is disputed by the three last that rode *properly* signified the cross at all, and not rather the human effigy upon it. The compound rode-galga, given by Benson, is not favourable to rode meaning galga *per se.* And that rode was not "rod or pole" may be inferred from Chaucer's rode-beem, (Wife of Bath, *v.* 6078) which otherwise would be mere tautology.

hengenne would express a cross or gibbet, merely insomuch as the bodies of the sufferers were by ancient custom left hanging thereon. Thus Rode-hengen for Rode-hangen, if any such word doth exist, is to be construed in strictness, rood-hanged, and agrees in grammar with sword-pierced, chain-bound, and other such regular compounds.

Stukeley proceeds to affirm, that he had been informed of another place in Yorkshire, called Stonehenge, being natural rocks. But when a dishonest writer, the forger of the Dracontium, finds the very thing he wants, and will not tell you where he finds it, we know too well what to think. Some place may have been so surnamed, in modern times, by knowing persons, and in the way of comparison; but perhaps not even that.

Next I would anticipate the plausible objection, that Stan-Hengest is itself a compound, having stones for the subject, and predicating of them the presence of a certain Saxon. The rule in question does not hold in cases where the predicate is a proper name, for then it follows in government, and takes the force of the Latin genitive; as in Port-Patrick, Portus Patricii, Fort-William, Arx Gulielmi. And in that way there may be rare instances of *nouns substantive*, not strictly proper names, suffixed [8] as genitives. In English those predicates are either prefixed with the genitive inflexion or pronoun, or they are suffixed with the force of a genitive, as St. Edmund his Bury or Bury St. Edmund, St. Michael his Mount or Mount St. Michael. With these genitives may be ranked the nouns suffixed in the accusative, as in cut-purse for purse-cutter, tell-tale for tale-teller. Therefore Stan-Hengest was as correct an order of words as Hengestis-stanas would have been.

There is in truth no third alternative; although the reader should not be deprived of the following morsel. "It is also called Stonehenge, and was supposed by some persons to have been erected by Hengist the Saxon, to the honour of the Britons whom he had murdered at a feast. This is foolish enough. [Quite. But *who* supposed it?] Stonehenge

[8] Mountfichet, Mons Mustelæ, &c. The idiom of such names is Norman and from the French.

may come from Stan or Tan, the district or territory, and Aonge, magicians or sorcerers in Irish." Celtic Druids p. 231, from Vallancey Collect. iii. Pref. ii. p. 100. Here there is probably no truth at all. For Aonge is not Irish for Magicians, and the word tan[9], territory, probably does not exist; but if it did, no process could convert it into stan.

Those arguments, which tend to exclude this exposition of Stanhenges for Hanging-stones, seem to me to set up that which remains, Stones of Hengest. It is an aboriginal Saxon testimony to the substance of facts remembered among the Britons; which testimony was, seemingly, unknown to the Britons; while the Saxons were as ignorant of their written narrations. No idea existed, in the mind of Geoffrey, that the name of the place and of the man were connected; and he probably, with Wace, adopted the vulgar etymology. The metrical historian Hardyng twice employed, but without explaining, the appellation *stone Hengles*, "which called is the stone Hengles certayne." p. 116. 150. ed. Ellis. This reads like lapides Anglorum, or lapides[1] Angelorum; but is indefensible.

Dr. T. Warton had reason to complain that, in this question of etymology, the name of the Saxon duke had not been properly or sufficiently considered. Hist. Engl. Poetry i. 53. But he is not so well warranted in saying, that the bloody banquet was "an undisputed piece of history." For Stillingfleet, and Hume after him, considered it an invention of the Welsh to palliate their own weak resistance and the rapid progress of the Saxons. Had that resistance really been weak, this observation would remain, that means contrived for an end are applied to that end; and they do not usually cite this fact in any such palliation. They represent it as followed by the prompt and triumphant vengeance of the

[9] No instance of such a word has ever been adduced; and it has probably been invented out of the termination of such words as Aquitania. Shaw had however inserted it in his Dictionary, before Vallancey; and therefore it was not coined at his mint. I know not from what Grecian mint Mr. Armstrong procured his "*ταvια*, land."

[1] See Layamon *v.* 29689.

Maes Beli, and subsequently introduce their most splendid and exaggerated traditions of glory.

It is not wonderful, that Sir F. Palgrave (Hist. Engl. p. 36) should regard the entire history of Hengest as a fable, when he thinks that "nothing can be more unlikely, than that Vortigern should have invited over these implacable enemies of Britain, *the dragons of Germany* as they are called by the Bards, for the purpose of warring against the Scots and Picts, with whom they, or their kinsmen, had been so recently allied." So violent are the prejudices of incredulity become, that it is pronounced incredible for an ex-province of the Western Empire to have obtained mercenary aid from the same tribes who had previously infested it, or even from the kinsmen of those tribes; though such is the history of the decline of the Empire. What is stranger yet, the language of some bard, resenting transactions long after their accomplishment, is quoted to prove the state of feeling before their commencement. The same author both in this passage, and again in his English Commonwealth (i. p. 395), objects to Hengest[2] and Horsa, that their names or surnames are both words that mean a horse; as if that common circumstance, of an animal name, impugned the reality of their existence. Yet, in the same page, he admits as a matter of course that Æsc was a real prince, though that name means an ash-tree. Reasonings of such entire nullity, and not indeed intelligible[3] to me, can only be repeated in two different works from the influence of very strong prepossessions. It may be presumed, that he will not dispute the Hengest of Beowulf; yet if he does not, the argument is no less inconsistent than obscure.

Again it is not wonderful, that Lappenberg should consider the whole as a mythus, since, without having studied the Gododin poems, he considers Mr. Turner's arguments upon Aneurin "very satisfactory." The real subject of those

[2] The name Hengst, when made a dissyllable, is always Hengest in Anglo-Saxon and German, not Hengist.

[3] That Ursus and Lupus were successive bishops of Troyes, is really remarkable, yet it has never invalidated their existence.

poems is too plain to be fairly doubted; and is so little damaged by its opponents, that it can almost afford to have Mr. E. Davies[4] for its advocate. The light of its truth pierces through his clouds.

There was instead one strong argument, had it only been fact; viz. that Aneurin's Dyvnwal Vrych meant Domhnall Brec M'Achy, king of Scots. But Domhnall Brec died, at the soonest, in the battle of Strathcawn fought against the Britons in A.D. 642 (Tigernach in anno), and the Ulster Annals by their assertion that Domhnall Brec M'Achy died in 685, and, as it would seem, in Pictland, raise the suspicion that he lost only his crown, and not his life, at Strathcawn, and survived many years. But, when Aneurin wrote, his bosom friend Taliesin was flourishing; and he was the Chief-Bard of Britain, and therefore no youth, at the court of Maelgwn Gwynedd, in the middle of the sixth century. Will any one believe, that he was still flourishing after the forty-second year (to say nothing of the eighty-fifth) of the seventh century? Mr. Price, in his Hanes Cymmru[5], suggests that there may have been two Donald Brecs, (he forgot to add, both slain by the Britons) and that *one of them* may have been cotemporary with Aneurin! No doubt, much may be effected by an unlimited creation of Donald Brecs. But still, whoever reads the two passages concerning Dyvnwal Vrych will see the absurdity of referring them to king Donald's defeat by the prince of Strathclyde. They are in truth mystical[6], and it is not from history that light can be thrown upon them.

Mr. Turner, always candid and reasonable, admits, that

[4] That author, though not very learned, was clever, and sometimes showed a keen insight into the truth of things. But his modes of argument and illustration were often frivolous, unsound, and untrue. He treated his native tongue, as though it were an original for any versions he chose to invent. And he bothered his readers out of all patience, with the Deluge and the Arkite God. By which offences the literary world have been provoked to repudiate whatever is propounded by him.

[5] Page 358. Cambr. Qu. Mag. vol. i. cit. ibid.

[6] Having shown who that Dyvnwal Vrych was not, I will add who I believe he was. He was Dyvnwal father of Beli Mawr, and identical with Manogan, whose name is equivalent to Brych. If so, of course the passages are bardic and mystical, not simply historical.

the question is fairly stated, whether, the British fell in the field of battle, or at a feast; and maintains withal, that the former is "the manifest literal import of the poet's words." A more false position could not have been laid down; even if there had not existed other Gododin or Cattraeth poems, and perhaps plainer spoken than that one. That there was slaughter of Britons by Saxons at the feast, and in the wonderful structure where that feast was spread, as well as other fighting[7] outside of it, and that the scene of action was no casual field, but the central and venerated seat of British authority, visited at an annual festival, appears in too many ways for any sophistry to shake off. Indeed the attempt is not made in earnest; and little or nothing is done, besides echoing Mr. Turner's slight remarks, published many years ago.

I am aware, that some consider Gododin and Cattraeth to be countries historically named, as furnishing Urien with soldiers, and as theatres of his warfare. But I think it scarcely within reason, as to Cattraeth; and false as to both. In one Song to Urien, p. 57, it is said,

> Of a sound family, not immoderately ardent, [is]
> The bold one of Gododin and lion of the sheltering-place (towys),
> Staunch in endurance and in the journey to the convocation (cydwys).

To prevent our understanding the *land of covering*, towys, to mean woodlands or the like, its repetition in the highly mystical lines to Urien upon Cattraeth, will avail.

> I saw the feeding round the lion, round [his] court,
> I saw the leaves of the summoning from the sheltering-place (towys),
> I saw the branch similar[8] in its blossoms,
> Verily I saw it, a master most generous in its ordinances.
> Across the plains I beheld the lord of Cattraeth.
> Let my oak-tree be a gleam of light to them, the Cymmryans.
> Due to my great father will be its benefit and blessings. p. 57, 8.

The curious custom of summoning by sending an oak-branch is here preserved from oblivion; and the towys of Gododin

[7] The reader will anticipate, and be on his guard against, the wretched sophism of inferring a negative from a compatible affirmative; they *did* fight without, and therefore they did *not* fight within.

[8] Similar, by having, in like manner, a summoning or inviting purport.

and Cattraeth was a place situated in great plains, whither the chosen worthies of Britain were summoned not for war, but to partake of generous[9] hospitalities and precious benefits, and from such a distance, as made it a laudable effort in Urien to obey the summons. The other passage, p. 52, is to this effect,

> Arise, men of Cattraeth, with the dawn of the day
> *Of my*[1] sovereign the profit-giver the Merchant!
> This is Urien of irreproachable report,
> Like kings in his banquets, warlike in his demands.

It is an indifferent one: but the others are far otherwise.

Mr. Turner had really not bestowed any considerable study on the question, nor had he examined all the documents; and, while stating truly what was the main argument he had to rely on, he erred prodigiously as to the matter of fact. So long as he continues to be reproduced, as the standard authority on the subject, these passages of history must be a prey to unbelief. "One Welsh bard (said he) two centuries afterwards alludes to a catastrophe like this, but with no distinctness of historical detail." If he were a distinct and detailed historian, he would be no Bard; and he is, in fact, almost too historical for Bardism, naming Vortigern, Hengest, and Horsa by their names, and otherwise departing from the primitive style.

But the Bardic allusions to this catastrophe, always more or less indistinct, are many; and the topic was more deeply rooted in their minds than any other. The following may be numbered among the poems of the ancient or British class, which advert to the crimes and disasters of the Calanmai, either as a main topic, or incidentally.

> Aneurin *ap Caw* in his Gododin.
> Cuhelyn [*ap Caw?*] in his first ode.
> The author of Gorchan Cynvelyn.

[9] Of annual recurrence; and "the twelvemonths' longing (as Gorchan Tutvwlch says) of the men of Cattraeth, the possession of good cheer."

[1] The morning of Wednesday, the day of Marca Mercedus, or dies Mercurii Mercatoris. Or "*Round the* sovereign the prosperous merchant," meaning Urien. But the former is right. So the next poem, also to Urien, begins "At the dawn of the day of Sadwrn," Saturday.

Gorchan Maelderw.
Gorchan Tutvwlch.
Merddin Wyllt, interpolated Hoianau, st. 5, st. 22, genuine.
Gorddodau st. 5. *vss.* 19—24.
Taliesin in Ymarwar Lludd Mawr *v.* 42.
Gwawd Lludd.
Gorchan Main Gwyrth.
Anrheg Urien.
Mic Dinbych st. 7 and 8.
Awdyl p. 77.
Avaon in Can y meirch *vss.* 8—10. Compare Cyndd. p. 222. *r.* 13.
Author of the Meib Llyr. Compare the same.
Avan, poem on Cadwallon.
Meigant in Canu p. 161. p. 180.
Golyddan, Armes Prydain.

Allusions from the middle or Welsh poets are not here cited, lest they should be objected to as mere echoes of the historians; though I do not think thus meanly of them. But the mention of "one Welsh bard," and him about the latest (Golyddan) showed a real unacquaintance with the state of the case.

The British authors in Latin and Welsh prose do not so much convince me of this event by their narrations of it, for they narrate many fables, as by their indirect and mystical allusions to it, in the mythus of Lludd ap Beli and his dragons, and the annual shriek of the Calanmai. Nor do the Bards more strongly convince me by any passages, than by some[2] which slightly hint the machinations of their own party, and raise a misgiving, who, in this mutual homicide, were in conscience the plotters; while the general tone, perhaps, is not one boasting of injured innocency, and complaining of treacherous unprovoked murder, but the angry commemoration of a violent scene in which their sect and order had been sufferers. Any hint of doubtful merits in this case, or even of divers modes of viewing it, goes to substantiate the *corpus* of the event. We seem not to possess the whole of the story, nor what are called the rights of it. But a mere fiction has no rights; and therefore it is not a fiction. If the violent prejudice against this history be an English one in

[2] See Aneurin p. 10. l. 17, 8. Gorchan Cynv. *r.* 14. Owen Cyveilioc, Hirlas p. 266. l. 20—4. col. 2. Compare Triad i. 45. ii. 10. iii. 53.

favour of Saxons (and, narrow as it would be, some such prepossession appears to exist), it may be mitigated by considering, that the moral merits of the fact remain open to discussion.

Another check to belief lies in the great number of dignitaries said to have been murdered[3]; but that stumbling-block will disappear. For the number of the Britons is the Bardic duodenad of 363, 3+6+3. And in this instance the Bardic number is not really a great duodenad (as the 129 stones of Cor Emmrys, if such their true number, were) but the literal dozen thus expressed.

That appears, both rationally, and numerically; in showing which I shall distinguish Bardic numeration with a B. Rationally, because the parties slain were Bards (ɑanwyr, docth, eleirch), and twelve was the number of the Chief-Bards, or Magi, of Britain. Twelve was also the peculiar number of Celtic chapters, and of the superiors in convents; in accordance to which we read, that the 1200[4] monks of Bangor is y Coed were slaughtered, that the 7140 divines formed the synod of St. Dewi, and that there were 363 religious under St. Asaph at Llan Elwi, all of which colleges = 12 B. Again the marwnad Milveib states the *November Number* of the saints, i. e. those who celebrated the Coelcerthi or Kalends of November, in these two expressions, seven score and 7000, and seventy score and 7000, which numbers are 7140 and 8400, and both =12 B. Myvyr. i. p. 171.

The same appears numerically, because three[5] were excepted from the number of the slain; and the three taken

[3] Concerning this number, see Essay on the Neo-Druidic Heresy Part i. p. 43, 4. The Irish Nennius p. 112. 132. 153. And see above S. VI. p. 109.

[4] Here the 12 is our common numeration, as in the 12,000 saints of the Marwnad Milveib, while the rejection of the zeros is Bardic or digital; but, 2400, with the like rejection of the zeros, was taken both ways, i. e. for 24 and for 6, and by its double action formed the duodenad. See above S. III. p. 61. note 2.

[5] The number in Aneurin is 363 — 3, in Alfred of Beverley it is 360; in Maclderw p. 86, and Golyddan, it is 180, being vulgarly the half of 360, but Bardically the whole, for 1 + 8 = 3 + 6 = 360 B. In Geoffrey, it is circiter 460; that is 463 — 3; and 463 = 13 B, of which full number I am about to speak. In Stow's Annals it is 480 = 12 B.

from 363 leaves $360 = 9 \text{ B} = 12 - 3$. So Merddin Wyllt had 147 trees, which may perhaps have been a great duodenad, or real number recommended to the mystics by its conformity with twelve; but, when Caledonian Bardism was ruined in the persecution of Arderydd, his 140 beloved ones perished, that is to say $147 - 7 = 140 = 5 \text{ B} = 12 - 7$. Thus tested, his Bardic college consisted of 12 men. A remarkable passage in Anghar's Covenant divides the 147 into 140 and 7, in these words,

> Seven score (140) Gogyrven is
> In Bardic song,
> *The eighth score* is of all the scores in one:

by which I understand, *the additional number* is that of the scores, or seven.

None returned with Arthur from the Caer Sidin, "*excepting seven.*" That is to say, his company were a Bardic duodenad; tested by the deduction of seven; and thus indicated to be the natural duodenad, the twelve Chief-Bards. But Arthur's company was thrice the fulness of his ship Prydwen, and therefore was a duodenad divisible by three. The third of 147 is $49 = 13$ B. But 13 is the plenary mystic 12, the signs with their Sun, the college of apostles with its Crist Celi, the chapter or convent with its Abbot, and the round-table of the Saint Greal *with the Perilous Seat filled.* It is not merely the Hebrew eight giving its overflow to the plenitude of seven, (see Eccles. xi. 2, Micah v. 5) and the quaterque amplifying the completeness of the Latin ter, of which the reasonable version is *more than seven* or *more than three;* but it is something else beside those, and has also its own substantive meaning. I do not find the qualities of 147 in any other duodenad, under 282. Therefore I conclude that Arthur's number, like Merddin's, was 147: and that 13[6], the development of his round-table in the Saint Greal's full achievement, was "the fulness of Prydwen." The names of the three excepted from the 363 are different in the Gorchan

[6] According to the British gematria or numerical cabbala, annexed to the Basingwerk manuscript of the Brut, the letters of the word Gogyrven yield the number 1390 = 13 B, or the duodenad in its plenitude.

Cynvelyn, and in Aneurin's Gododin, and in the former they sound allegorical. One of them is Cattraeth[7], which other poets represent as the name of the place; and another is Cathleu, a plural noun meaning Songs. It therefore seems, that no real escape of three men was meant to be denoted.

This numerical mystery is brought home to the Gododin in another place; where Aneurin states the British force, in the affair of the Cattraeth, to have been five hundred thousand and eight hundred men! A number, as laughable in its fractional accuracy, as monstrous in its amount. But 500,800 = 13 B, or the full duodenad. God. p. 4. There immediately follows a detailed recital of the numbers, of which the connexion with that enormous total is not otherwise apparent. But those numbers[8] are 18, 3, 3, 3, 300, 3, 3, 3 = 336 = 12 B, or the simple duodenad. Though I can discern in part only, and not fully, the use and motives of this method, its existence is a manifest fact. Its curious bearings upon the date and secret history of the decimal notation in arithmetic, I leave to those, who are better acquainted with the history and higher principles of that science.

But besides the 363 of the convention, there was a distinct body of 300, several times mentioned by Aneurin; and they seem to have been resident on the spot, and presiding over the sanctuary. For Geoffrey mentions the 300, as monks of Ambri. These 300 shared the sad fate of the 363. But the question is how many they were, whether that real number, or only the number three. And I maintain the latter. For they also perished with exception, and the exception was of one. Aneurin *v.* 575. 583. p. 9. But 300 — 1 = 299 = 20 B = 2 B = 3 — 1. So the application of the same test shows a highly dignified, but small, body of three persons, to be expressed by that great number of three hundred. The chapter

[7] But one manuscript has Cadraith.

[8] The late Mr. Williams junior, seeking to prop the fable of Bran ap Llyr upon the low or no authority of the extant Triads, and with that view seeking to ascribe high antiquity to those Triads, makes the desperate and wild assertion, that Aneurin, in the threes here mentioned, "enumerates the titles of several" of them! Iolo MSS. p. 347.

of Llan Elwy[9] was formed by St. Cyndeyrn or Kentigern, on the model of the great bardic sanctuary, in two bodies, the one holy and of 363, the other of lay brethren, in number 300; that is to say, 12 and 3. In like manner, 21000 stand for 3 in Triad iii. 85. The farther test, of mysticality in the person excepted, applies also here. For that one person is said to be Aneurin himself, which is neither possible to be true, nor to be meant for truth. *v.* 236. p. 4. The author of Gorchan Cynvelyn makes the same assertion concerning himself; and there is manifest reason to conclude he is a different author.

We receive another intimation, that the 363 persons assailed were only the twelve Magi; for Eidiol Gadarn slew many Saxons in that affray, with a staff of the magic roan tree, and their number is stated at 660. Triad iii. 60. But here again is the same trick of numeration. Of course it is historically untrue, that equal numbers fell. It merely amounts to this boast, that they gave as good as they took. What loss, then, did they take? a loss of $6 + 6 + 0 = 12$ B.

This makes it doubtful, whether the one, preserved out of the 300, was to be excepted in reckoning up the total, or not. These Gododin poems were recited on the recurrence of the great annual festival of the May Kalends; and the dirges, both plaintive and vindictive, sung on that occasion, were (as it is termed in the fable of Lludd ap Beli) the annual shriek of the Calanmai. This transpires in a most explanatory passage of Aneurin.

> I Aneurin will compose
> What Taliesin shall know,
> Expressions jointly-intelligible (cyvrenin).
> Is it not the song of Gododin, [prepared]
> *Against the dawn of the fine day?*

And as the Bards of the Calanmai seem to have spoken in the character of eye-witnesses, by making themselves respectively the one saved out of the 300, the patent untruth of that statement may possibly have prevented the deduction

[9] See Fuller's Worthies of Wales p. 48.

of that unit from the total. In point of fact, the 360 slain with 300 slain make the duodenad of 660, the same as Eidiol's of slain Saxons; but the exception of the one brings it all wrong.

For these reasons, scepticism need not be alarmed by the multitude of those, who fell under the knives of their Saxon guests. The various artifices under which this fact is veiled and insinuated, and the perpetual bitterness with which it was remembered, give it such irresistible proofs of reality, as are rarely obtained for the events of ages wanting regular history. But if the above arguments tend to show that Stanhengest, and not Stanhenges, had been the real name of the Cor Emmrys among the Saxons of Wessex, then the truth of this tradition rests upon both nations. It is obnoxious to the antiquitarians for obvious reasons.

I should not, however, here entirely suppress my own belief, that these stones were not called Duke Hengest's, merely because he there performed a desperate act, and was engaged in the bloody scuffles consequent upon it; but because he there ended his days, and was solemnly immolated to the vengeance of the successors of the Druids. The account of his death is, I believe, for grave reasons dissimulative; and those passages of the Brut, in which the competent reader can discern the writer's duplicity, are the passages most certain to have some basis of fact. The death of Hengest, shortly after the battle of the Maes Beli (Plain of Havoc), was consummated by the stewards and chief ministers of the Cor Emmrys, Eidiol Gadarn and his brother; and I cannot myself doubt, that it was done at that sanctuary. If the received dates render it unlikely, that Eidiol should still have been the superintendent of the Cor, that would add strength to the case, by showing his office, not the man, to be signified. So that neither Conisborough in Yorkshire, nor Caer Cynan in Cornwall, was the scene of Hengest's strange fate; but the Caer Cynan or Place of Effata, to which its prophetic oracles gave that name. This is the more likely, when we read in the Dyhuddiant, that the seat of judgment over all Bardism should be filled by Cynan AP

BRAN; which will make Caer Cynan[1] an equivalent to Caer Caradawc. Though I believe Hengest to have bequeathed his name to the Cor, for reasons as great and proper as ever gave man's name to place, that opinion cannot here receive any fuller developments.

Another Saxon name, not of the structure, but of its site, is preserved by Layamon; but has yet obtained no clear explanation. Speaking of the bloody Calanmai he says, "they took a stated day, that those people should bring "themselves together with peace and amity, on a plain that "was pleasant, fast by Ambresburi,

> "The spot was Ælenge,
> "Now it hight Stanhenge."
> The stude wes Ælenge,
> Nu hatte hit Stanhenge. *v.* 15184.

The old translation, into a rather later dialect of English, writes Elinge. Allington, i. e. Alling, a village four miles from Amesbury in the opposite direction, agrees well enough in name. See Madden's notes p. 357. But Layamon was well aware, of what Stanhenge consisted, since he has afterwards described it; for which reason it is inconceivable to me, that he should assert the spot to have been any town or village whatsoever, even supposing, what may be doubted, that he was acquainted with Allington. Egbert defeated the Mercians in 823 at Ellendunc, which has been supposed to mean Wilton. Upon that occasion Henry of Huntingdon quotes this as an old saying, *Ellendune rivus* cruore rubuit, ruinâ stetit, fœtore tabuit. p. 344, Savile. And, as Wilton

[1] I ask pardon for observing, that in their gematria Cynan and Caradawc both made 12, viz. 930 and 228. In the cabbala words, containing letters of the same numerical amount, are deemed mutually convertible. J. Allen on Judaism p. 77. I will add a few words, to facilitate the use of the Welsh gematria. Q is chw, X is ch; C 100 and K 140, being the same letter, give you an alternative; W, being excluded from the letters, is certainly a mute; but 7 being also carefully excluded from the numbers, I conceive that W is 7; and either mute or 7, at your option. For instance, Keridwen with the W mute, and Kyrridwen with W for 7, both yield the number of Gogyrven, (above p. 172. n. 6.) the former being 1318, and the latter 1291. This accounts for Cynddelw's and Llywarch's word Kyrridwen. p. 230. p. 290.

stands on the Willey, the town being named from the river, I think that saying confirms it.

> [Fair Willy] claims of right the plain should hold her dear[2],
> Who gives that town the name, which likewise names the shire.

But Ellendune in Saxon expresses the Great Downs, for ellen, valiant, mighty, will express mere extent or magnitude in compounds, as ellenrof, very strong, ellenseoc, very sick, ellenmærdo, great glory. See Dr. Bosworth's Dict. And Wilton took this name from the Plain, as it took the other from the River. Battles named from a town are more usually said to be fought *at* than *in* it, therefore I think the Saxon Chronicle spoke rather of the downs than of the town, for its text (ed. Gibson) says the Saxon heptarchs "gefeaht *on*[3] Ellendune."

Now as Layamon in all his three passages (vol. 2. pp. 211. 295. 307) has specified two localities, viz. Ambresburi *near* which, and the "merry field" or pleasant plain *upon* which, the stones were placed, and was therein faithful to the words of Wace; and, as in the cited passage he expressly shows, that Ælenge was not any place near Stanhenge, but the actual *stude* or site thereof, it follows to my thinking, that the Ælenge was no other than the *brad* and *muri veld* itself, now Salisbury Plain, that is to say, no other than the Ellendune. That name in the Saxon may be deemed equivalent to the Maes Mawr of the British, and the "veld . . . . wunder brad" of Layamon. The form of NG was making its way into our active participle in Layamon's days. We find in him the Saxon participle, bærninde, murnende, tidende, fuliende, 1. 345, 2. 338, 389, 565, the participle with D omitted, riden, læien, 2. 334, 386, and lastly the participle in NG, graning, swæting, huntinge, barninge, 2. 322, 333, 472, 605. It seems as if Ellen, the Saxon epithet of Salisbury Plain or the Downs of Wilton, had in his time been changed into Æleng; and vulgar corruptions sooner take hold of proper names, than of language.

[2] Drayton.

[3] A various lection has "at Ellendune."

SECTION X.

Native appellations. Enclosure. Form. Materials. Disunited Structure. Unity of Structure. The World. The Round Table. Island of the Sea, or Shore of the Sea. Plaiting or Intertexture. Names from Animals. Oracle or Ebyr. Passages from Cynddelw. The Moel Evwr. A general inference.

The native appellations or phrases employed in speaking of the principal sanctuary (some material, some moral, and some mixed) are well worthy of a slight enumeration. For the general argument resulting from them will not, I think, be feeble.

Part of these will be met with in strict local application to the main place; and part of them applied, by way of hypothesis and substitution, to the place where they were actually wont to assemble at the time of speaking. To what an extent that principle of substitution was carried, and to how late it lasted, though as an empty form, may be learned from Mr. E. Williams; who thus expressed himself with all the gravity of the Gorsedd of Glamorgan. "The Welsh bards always meet in the open air while the sun is above the horizon, where they form a circle of stones according to ancient custom. This circle they call the Cylch Cyngrair, Circle of Concord or Confederation. In these days it is formed only of a very few small stones or pebbles, such as may be carried to the spot in one man's pocket. But this would not have been deemed sufficient by those, who formed the stupendous Bardic circle of Stonehenge." Poems, &c. 2. p. 39. I trow, not; but there were many stages of declension, between the dimensions of the Cor Emmrys, and those of Mr. Williams's pocket.

Without attempting to make this enumeration complete,

or even to give it a perfect classification, I shall consult convenience by dividing it under certain heads:

1. *Enclosure* or *Fortification.* This is the idea in one class of appellations; and bears double reference, to the ditch and vallum, actually [1] forming a sort of camp, and to the stonework, which was a mystic fortress, guarded by the religio loci. To this head belongs the word Caer, of continual use; and specially recurring in Arthur's caer of six denominations, the burthen of each stanza in the Preiddeu, and in the addvwyn caer, which likewise pervades the Mic Dinbych. Cynddelw deserves quotation where he calls the main place, uch cawres, caer amgen, the lofty giantess, otherwise the caer. p. 222. Caerau seems to express, not only a plurality of sanctuaries, but the great one divided into its several enclosures, one within another. In the Gorchan Tutvwlch, the site of the Stonehenge is called man caerau, place of the caers. We read of the caerau nev, circles of heaven; and conversely I believe the nev caerau [2], into which the bard of the Rod of Moses begs admission, to be "the heaven of the caers." Llygad Gwr, in flattering his ill-fated prince Llewelyn, styles him "fair of lineage, a stone of the caers," maen gaerau. p. 345. On Hathersage Moor in Derbyshire is a sort of oblong megalithic parallelogram, of large stones set at intervals, called Cair's Work; and a sedile, hewn in a rock at the east end, is Cair's Chair. H. Rooke Archæol. vii. 175. Here the noun caer has been made into somebody's name; and it helps us to two phrases, that of the word caerwaith (rendered caer-work, not as usual, *fortification*, since caer is used in its peculiar sense), and that of caer-gadair for gorsedd. This use of caer was discerned and pointed out by Mr. E. Davies. And we are indebted to him for observing, that Hywel's "Caer of the Cyvylchi . . . . in Eryri in Arvon" was

[1] In some instances, as at Avebury and Winterbourne Basset, having the ditch inside. See Aubrey MSS. cit. R. C. Hoare A. N. Wilts p. 61.

[2] Dr. Owen Pughe, in his Dictionary, mentions a vernacular phrase for the sun's being set, that he is gone tan ei caerau, *under his Caers.* I consider the word to be here used in its peculiar and mystical sense; the caerau, or circle of several enclosures, being considered as the place of the Sun, and its crypts, as places of the Sun's occultation; and the same language being translated to the antitypical and mundane positions of the same luminary.

the circle of pillar stones called y meineu hirion, enclosing an earthen vallum, and themselves enclosed by a wall, on the mount of Dwy Gyvylcheu. Wynne of Gwydyr cit. Gibson's Camden 2. p. 58. The poem is brief, and curious.

> I shall desire the proud-built Caer of the Cyvylchi,
> Till with haughty bearing I force myself into it.
> Glorious and laborious is he who penetrates into it.
> The wild wave clamours loud beside it,
> The chosen place of the Fair One of bright endowments,
> The caer rising bright by the side of the sea.
> By the Lady who shines, for the present[3]
> Year, in the wilds of Arvon in Snowdon,
> A tent is not required[4] nor silk regarded.
> To some one I much love and greatly protect,
> If the bardic art could avail me
> Aught, by night I would be most near. p. 275.

I think it is rightly deemed, by Davies, a sort of Canticles or mystic love-song. The same, no doubt, was the same poet's gwenglaer uch gwengaer, fair bright lofty and lovely caer, which he claims for his daerawd or appointed possession. p. 278.

Din and Dinas scarcely differ from Caer in their import; though, in their common use, more appropriate to native fortresses, while caer is, strictly, the Roman castrum or chester. Caer, din, and dinas, are applied either with various epithets; or simply, as in the following instance,

> Son of the God of the Dinas,
> Fair son, boy of Mary! Lluryg Alex. *v.* 10, 11.

In the same sense of the word Cynddelw said,

> Eurgor dor, Dinas cerddorion,
> The shelter of the golden-circle, the Dinas of the bards. p. 209.

This is the Dinas in whose gogov, or cavern, Glendower slumbers. See above Sect. VIII. For Din Emmrys, see Sect. V. p. 93.

Mur, the rampart or wall, is applied simply to the great

[3] I suppose these remarkable words to express the very precarious existence of rites and sanctuaries, so ill suited to the twelfth century.

[4] Here that rudeness and austerity of fashion, from which trivial reasoners conclude antiquity, is affected and boasted of. See Sect. IV. p. 80.

sanctuary in Cuhelyn, in the Mar. Erewlf *v.* 19, and in Cadair Teyrn. *v.* 12. Also in the compound form go-vur; and more than once in that of cawr-mur. Cad. Teyrn. *v.* 13. Mar. Uthyr. *v.* 12. And in Uthyr's Dirge it is y meinad gwrthgloddiad, the contravallation or defending rampart of stonework. *v.* 39.

Gwal, a wall or vallum, has the same force in an ode of Taliesin; "and to us shall be given, on Thursdays, the fine carousal of the rampart of light," gwenwledd gwal oleu. p. 77. The pretended king Dyvynwal Moelmud was famous for laws that bore his name, and was therefore a bancawydd, binder or uniter. He ordained that the temples and *dinasoedd*[5] should be inviolable asylums, as well as all the roads leading to them. Galf. Mon. 2. cap. ult. Brut. p. 139-40. But Dyvyn-wal means Inviting or Calling of (or, to) the Wall[6], and Moel-mud, Moving or Removal of the Huge Mass, in which the allusion to the work of Emmrys, the removing and bringing of the giant stones, is perceptible. He is called in some old Triplets Dyvnwal *Dar* Moelmud, i. e. *of the Oak-tree.* His other appellation (or, as some fable, that of his father), Dyvnvarth Prydain, makes Summoner to the Plain of Britain.

2. *Circular Form.* Cor in composition, as Caer Ri-gor, Enclosure of the Royal Circle, Eur-gor, the Golden Circle, and Cor by itself. It is possible, Geoffrey may not use Chorea for Dance; but for ambitus chori, as Ducange has it, in reference to Choirs of churches. It is true, that his cotemporary translator Wace says,

Bretons les solent en Bretans
Apeler karole[7] as gaians, (8387)

[5] Geoffrey did not know the Bardic sense of Dinas, and so was led into supposing that every fortified place was a sacred asylum.

[6] One document calls him Moel-myd; which yields moel, the bulk or huge mass, of the myd, circular enclosure. For myd (which comes from the plural of mwd, an arch or cove) see Cadair Ceridwen *v.* 18; see also Owen's Dict. ed. 2nd, contradicting both ed. 1st and itself. But the line of Llywarch Pr. y Moch, p. 289,

Hael Arthur modur, *myd* anghudd am rhodd,

signified,

Generous was Arthur the protector, open his *round-table* in its bounties.

[7] Menage in his Dict. Etym. says, Carolle, danse en rond. And he derives it,

whence Hardyng took his queer phrase, that Constantine ap Cador was "buried at Caroll." p. 150. But Layamon rightly substitutes the word "ring." *v.* 17275. However Geoffrey took it, it is clear he was rendering the word cor.

Cylch, the circle, occurs in several combinations; and gorwy, the ring or circumference, in Cuhelyn's Plot of Long Knives. Caer ni wesgrydd, enclosure of our circumgiration, in the Cyvoesi; and y myd, the circular enclosure, in Cadair Ceridwen.

3. *Materials.* Maen or Mein, the Stones. Mic Dinb. *v.* 53. Avan p. 180. Maen gwyrth, the precious stones. Taliesin p. 551. Meinad, the Stone-work. M. Uthyr.

Mein uchel, medel y alon,	*The high stones,* that destroy our enemies,
Dywen ar warchan Adebon.	Smile upon the talisman of Adebon.

4. *Position.* Bre, the Mount. Aneurin. Caer-Garadawc Vre. Avan. Bryn y Beddau, Hill of Graves. Beddau st. 76. Hor, the Mound or Knoll. Mic Dinb. *v.* 50. Mynydd, the Mount. Beddau st. 14. p. 78. Anrheg Urien p. 50. To this Mynydd, I am now inclined to refer the titles[8] Mynyddawc and Mynyddawr, given in Gododin and Gorchan Tutvwlch to king Gwr-theyrn, or the purple-robed *gwr teyrn.* Mynwent Cor-bre, the monument on the Cor-hill. Beddau st. 5. Above p. 152.

5. *Shelter* or *Refuge.* Nawdd, nodded, cilydd, the asylum or refuge. This was the privilege of the Dinasoedd of Dyvnwal. Dor, the shelter or covering. Dor Cor, shelter of the circle. Beirddion derwyddon dor, Bards, the Druids of the asylum. Tewdor dor, asylum of thick shelter. Eur-gor dor, above p. 180.

To, shelter or covering. Of the word To, we shall presently

on Duchat's authority, from the Bas Breton word coroll. But Dom Lepelletier explains the latter as danse publique, not adding en rond.

[8] One of Mr. E. Williams's Glamorganshire MSS., purporting to be composed in the 11th century, but of which I entertain doubts, mentions Cilliwig (or Celliwig, as in the Triads) as the original seat of the government of Cerniw Dyvnaint, and Caer-Vynyddawg, as the then seat thereof. I cannot learn where either place was situate. The latter can hardly be a place so obscure and devoid of antiquities, as Cammow Cove near Helston. Iolo p. 63.

see two compounds. But it occurs alone in a remarkable passage;

Cylch Prydain bo.	Let the circle be Britannia.
Flemyched ymgo	Let blaze round about it
Dreig nid ymgelo,	The dragon not concealing himself,
Eir meint *y do.*	Radiance coextensive with *the shelter.*

Ym. Lludd *v.* 72.

For the circle was not always Britannia; but was viewed, as we shall see, in a much wider symbolism. And this passage elucidates the language used in the Gwawd Lludd, on occasion of the sacrifice of the spotted cow;

Cathyl gwae canator	The song of woe resounding
Cylch Prydain amgor.	Round about *the Circle of Britannia.*

For to-wys, that is gwys to, the land or place of shelter, see above p. 168, and the remarkable quotations there given.

Cor gwaredred, cenedyl nodded, the circle of refuge, asylum of our race. Cuhelyn.

6. *Disunited Structure.* The Great Cor was an enclosure perfect in its whole, as a circle, but imperfect as to its parts; being only connected by its architrave, but otherwise interrupted and discontinuous, like any other colonnade. And if the exterior circle was such, the interior groups were much more disconnected.

This was a mixed topic, moral, as well as material; for if great sanctity and value were not attached to that feature, it would never have re-appeared in so many ways. It was, as I conceive, that feature by which the Cor was a grove of trees, and its chief-bard and bards, the Maelderw and Derwyddon. This idea was conveyed by the prefix *go* or *gos*, meaning *imperfectly, partially,* and *to a certain extent only;* as well as by various other terms, implying defective unity, and a division into parts.

Go-do, the partial *to*, or shelter. When opposed to none, it means some shelter,

> Na rhynnawd godo,
> Not the least shelter, (Cad. Teyrn. 57)

but when opposed to complete, then it means partial, shelter. Among the sovereign princes in Arthur's court, (Triad ii. 26,

iii. 114, and see i. 15,) Cadraith son of the Doorkeeper *Godo* or *of Godo* is mentioned. In the absence both of genitive inflexion and the regular use of genitive prepositions, the latter would be the best form of construction. But the Triadist repudiates it, by adding the name of Bleiddwr Flam (Flame the Wolf-man) son of Godo. Therefore we must reckon this appellation as one among the many instances in which the name of the place was mystically transferred to the person. Godo was that place of which the doorkeepers were sovereigns.

Go-do-din, the din, or strong place, of partial shelter. This appellation is too famous to dwell upon here; and its application is not, in my judgment, matter of doubt.

Go-vur. The rampart, mur, of an incomplete formation; something like a wall, but not exactly a wall. Gwawd Lludd *v.* 65. Cynddelw p. 211. *v.* 2.

Go-van. Man, the place, go, not entire. Cynd. ibid.

Go-chy-mma. Ma, the place, go, partially, cy, united; a place of which the constituent parts are not thoroughly connected.

Gos-gor. Cor, the circle, gos, with imperfect circumference. Preiddeu *v.* 46. Compare Anghar Cyv. *v.* 181. *Quære tamen.*

Mer-ddin. Din, a fortress, mer, a detached or separate part. The name of Merddin Emmrys, magic builder, or royal founder, means *Ambrosius of the Divided Fortification.* Though, in form of construction, Merddin is a name of the thing transferred to the person, like Godo. Not, however, where the isle of Britain is called the Clas Merddin[9], Country of the Divided Fortification; as the Circle (conversely) was

[9] That these names are said to have been original, older even than the pretended name Prydain, will for some time to come have weight with many. But the Cor Emmrys *was* an original work. And the British origins are Post-Roman; or rather Post-Cæsarean, for the best part of the people were Roman, some time after the government was independent. The famous Totness landing was that of Brutus and Ambrosius (whether any one *really* landed at Totness, and who, is matter of speculation which has been handled in Brit. after Rom. 2. 87, 8.), the Cæsar-slayer who upset the rule of the Caisariaid or Cessarogion, and the Bard-king of the new system and its buildings. The Dragons of the Calanmai were the troubles of Vortigern's succeeding epoch. All that is true in British origins is dissembled, and relates to that original æra, A. D. 408.

said "to be Britannia." The other form, Clas Meiddin, signifies Country of the Din of the Calan-mai, or yearly vernal feast. Series 1. Tr. 1.

Brwyd-din. The din that is brwyd, full of holes; perforated all round, by the chasms or interstices of its structure. Cad Goddeu 187. In Cynddelw's words, "tewdor dor .... brwyd rhwyd, the strong-sheltering shelter .... the net full of holes," observe the antithesis and intentional contradiction.

Caer Esgyrn. The Enclosure of Bones; that is to say, the circular skeleton structure, with the interstices of its ribs not filled up. See Sect. VIII. p. 147.

Tencu-van, Tec-van. Again, mystical personages called from the place. The father of the mystical Cynvelyn Bran, to whom the Sacred Fire appertained (coinciding, as Bran's father, with Llyr, itself also a place-name,) is called in the Incantation of Cynvelyn, Tec-van, the Beautiful Place. But in the Brut he is Teneu-van, the Attenuated or Rarefied Place.

Cal-van. Man, the place, of cal, stalks, stems, or reeds. Cannæ. This means the place composed of pillars. But it is another impersonation of place. For Calvan the Fiery was the Bardic name of Tecvan's father and Cynvelyn's grandsire. It is remarkable, that the Cynobelin coins exhibit his name as Tasciovani[1] F. and Fi. not to say Fil., which is *nearly* legible on Mr. Neville's coin; which confirms the fact that the historical Cynvelyn's father had a name beginning with T and ending with *van*[2]; though one no longer intelligible to us, and in other respects distinct from those given to the mystical Cynvelyn's father. That knowledge was perhaps acquired by the Bards and by

[1] See S. Birch on Coins of Cunobelin and the Hon. R. Neville's Antiqua Explorata. Mr. B. Post's theory of that legend substitutes Fircobretus for Filius; but, as historical and numismatic authority combine to deny the existence of that word, and as nothing indicates the existence of the title Vergobret in Britain, that theory may be deemed nearly gratuitous.

[2] Names in *van*, such as these, and Cadvan, Elvan, Buddvan, Bleiddvan, Llovan, Cynvan, Dogvan, Carvan, &c. are formed either on *man*, a place, or on the adjective *ban*. No light has been thrown upon the meaning of Tasciovan; nor upon the ancient Gaulish names, Moritasgus, and Tasgetius, read upon a coin Tasgiitios.

Tysilio, in the same way by which our age has obtained it, viz. from his copious and varied coinage.

Go-chawn. Cyvrhein. Go, as it were, cawn, canes, reeds, or stalks. This local term equals the personal term Cal-van. Rhein, spears, cyv, connected together. These two phrases describe the Pillar Temple as pacific, and as warlike. Mic. Dinb. *v.* 49.

Caer Go-lludd. The fortress, offering an imperfect obstruction or barrier. Preiddeu *v.* 34. Lludd is any obstruction, or obstacle to progress.

Caer Go-llur. Unless the proper name is an excuse for the metre, the rhyme requires golur. That gives you another mode of the very same idea, viz. *partially dark* or *gloomy*, and, of course, but partially diaphanous.

Cordyllau. Gogyrvan. Gogyrwen. These words are mentioned only in the way of surmise. I have already hinted a suspicion that Cordeylla, daughter of LLYR, should in her true name, if we possessed it, be Cor-dyllau, Perforations or Intercolumniations of the Cor. Plurals abound in the mystic nomenclature, although they occur rarely in real names.

To the same class we should perhaps consign Gogyrvan Gawr, father to the most famous of the mystic Gwenhwyvars, wives of Arthur; and traditional hero of the Caer Ogyrvan, or Dinas Hen of Oswestry. See Triad i. 59. iii. 109. Cyndd. p. 210. Go-gyr-van is from *man*, and *go*, and the composite form of *cwr*, Place of the Incomplete Periphery. This hero[3] was the owner of the Round Table, and gave it to Arthur with his daughter; but we shall presently observe, that the said table was itself the go-gyr-van.

Go-gyr-wen, *the Beauteous* Incomplete Periphery, or *the Lady of the*, &c., has been thought by some to be a name or title of the Bardic goddess. But I have seen no passages in which it may not be understood, directly, of the place itself; and where it is said to be, in awen or mystical poetry, the number 147, composed of 140 and 7, and expressing 12, I consider it even requisite so to understand it. Four times at least, twice in p. 66, in p. 65, and in p. 186, it is correctly

[3] Morte Arthur iv. c. 1, where his name is metamorphosed into Lodegrean.

written Gogyrwen ; and p. 164 is uncertain, the orthography of that document being inconsistent. But in the passage alluded to, p. 35, where it is said to form the Bardic duodenad, and by Cynndelw p. 222. p. 230, it is spelt Gogyrven ; the reason of which is that, without such change, the name does not possess the desired numerical value. See above p. 172. But go-gyrv-en is still capable of derivation from the composite form of cwrv, body, with the feminine termination ; and the phrase go-gyrv, semi-substantial, partially corporeal, reverts to the same idea ; which I mention the rather, because men whose lives were spent in playing with words, may have meant to do the same trick two ways.

Air and glass. Merddin's house of glass in which he sailed upon the sea, and Merddin's prison of air, which confined him underneath a hawthorn-tree, without barriers of stone or iron, the cor of glass or Bangor Wydrin, (which, we should remember, was only a circuitus virgarum torquatarum,) where also the hawthorn-tree of the Saint Greal was planted, and the Caer of glass, which no man could see through, typify the diaphanous structure of the magic circle, combined with its inviolable laws and profound mysteries, by the types of air not passable, and glass not transparent. The Bard of the Preiddeu says thus ;

> I shall not obtain [for] the many the veil [4] of the Ruler.
> Through the Caer of glass they saw not the stature of Arthur.
> Threescore songsters were stationed on the wall.
> It was difficult to parley with its watchman.

And then follows the return of the seven, from Caer Go-lludd or Go-llur. We have here, almost verbatim, the turris vitrea of Nennius (cap. 7), of which the sentinels were visible, but would give no answer when hailed.

7. *Unity of Structure.* Having enumerated various allusions to the discontinuous and grove-like structure of the Cor, those should not be forgotten which relate to its unity. For it was valued for being one in the form of its structure, as well as for being many ; and its unity was expressed by certain symbols.

[4] i. e. to penetrate that veil, and enter within it.

1. A tree. Since the division into pillars was that which made the Grove, the reunion of them by one coronal entablature was not unfitly denoted by one large tree.

We have seen the Wild Merddin boasting of his apple-trees, bardically twelve, hypæthric, and arranged in a circle; but resolving themselves into one tree, from whose trunk the voice of Ceridwen issued, and within whose trunk the elect were gathered. And so Emmrys, the lord of the original mer-ddin, abode for ever within the hawthorn-tree.

2. A Tower. The ineffable or go-gair imprisonment of Elphin, the Rubicund and Radiant, was in the belly (or concavity) of the twr meinin, tower of stone-work. The sanctuary was, in truth, an integral round tower with a loop-holed circumference.

3. A Stone. That which was united out of many stones was mystically one stone. When we read that, at the battle-feast of Cattraeth, "the sword rattled on the head of the enchantment of Noah and Isaiah, the great stone of the joint-habitation," we may well doubt that any particular one of those maen, for which Cattraeth is said to be "greatly renowned," could combine in itself all that is here implied, the talisman of salvation on the floods, and the oracle of Bardic prophecy. The one united enceinte of meinin or stone-work, is the carreg vawr y cyhaddvan. And the cyhaddvan, or joint habitation, is the concord of the elect within the trunk of Merddin's tree.

The same figure occurs in the curious englynion[5] of the Seven Saints.

> Dewi and Cybi preserve [us] daily,
> Bringing Beuno for a surety,
> Dingad, and Cynvarch whom they honour,
> And Deinioel, and holy Seirioel.
> Lo! the seven of golden-trained habits, by means of the Hermit
> Enthusiastical at all seasons
> *Who was in the stone of awful rotundity,*
> A vu'n y maen graen grynder,
> The seven that numbered the stars.

These astrologer saints followed the discipline of Merddin Emmrys, the mystic prisoner and recluse of the stone circle.

[5] Apud Cambro-Briton i. p. 138.

Upon those Ambrosian petræ they had built their church; and therefore the union of the stones in one sanctuary was Peter. So Cuhelyn[6] calls his cor "the melodious fourfold Peter" or "quaternion of Peter," Pedir pedror; where the sense of quadrangular for pedror is absurd, and more so, that of four-times quadrangular for the two words. Pedror has there its known sense of a quaternion or number[7] four. The editors have rightly printed Pedir with a capital P. Meilyr says, in a fanatical poem of Bardic doctrine,

> I Meilyr the poet am a pilgrim unto Pedyr [8],
> The doorkeeper, who regulates the measure of qualifications. p. 193.

The same short poem shows him also a pilgrim to the Bardic Mary, that Mair whose womb (as he says) is martyrdom. But perhaps the most remarkable passage is that in the Hymn to St. Cadvan, which enumerates three altars, real[9] or ideal.

> Three altars of great price, wonders to hear of,
> There are, twixt the sea and the mount and the strong tide,
> The altar of Mary or of the cauldron very sacred and credible,
> *The altar of Pedyr is skilfulness in eulogy,*
> Allawr Bedyr yw medyr yd yr voled,
> The third altar is the lowering gloom of heaven.
> Blessed is the mansion, for the passing through it,
> Blessed shall it be, for the asylum
> Where abides the Lord of the spiritual land. p. 360.

I can, however, readily believe that the name Pedyr might convey a double allusion to Peter, the Rock, and to the word pedyr, quadruple; so as to imply in one name two essential characters (material, and formal) of the caer pedryvan and pair pedrydan.

The concluding benediction of Llywarch the Swine-Poet, to David ap Owen, is probably worded in this sort of lled-iaith or bardd-air.

[6] See above p. 88.

[7] So in Arch. Myv. 21. col. 2. l. 17, tri o bedror, "*three out of the four*" that had been mentioned.

[8] Compare Pedyr Porthawr with king Porthawr Godo.

[9] Reflection on this great passage of mediæval Bardism persuades me, that, when its adepts had come into an external conformity with Catholicity, the system of Bardic substitution entered the churches, portions of which were by name one thing, and by hypothesis another.

> High David, good man of the world,
> Open be the gates of Peter and of Paul
> (Boed agored pyrth *pedyr a phawl*)
> Unto thee, the sovereign of men.
> Thou shalt be a calm man in the pleasing chains of those
> Whom the land of our Spiritual Father has obtained. p. 281.

This passage, and from such an author, comes very suspicious to my ears. For we never heard of Paul in the character of a doorkeeper. But we know of the pawl (pole) of Elphin, upon which Taliesin was suspended on the eve of the Calanmai, Hanes p. 18, and of the pawl *in the Ban-gor*, upon which Merddin was placed for a whole year. Merdd. i Yscolan *v.* 14. "As much talked of (runs the proverb) as Merlin upon the pole." Diarhebion p. 176. Therefore I surmise, that the pyrth pedyr a phawl were the entrances to "the quadruple place and the pole[10];" guarded by the royal doorkeeper of Godo, or by the doorkeepers (of whom below, p. 199) of the Perllan Vangor.

In those ancient lines which speak of the 12,000 [12 + 0] saints moving swiftly tra phen Iesu, over or across the head of Jesus, and of hell being vanquished trwy ben Pedyr, through the head of Peter, I conceive that the sacred place, and not the thing specified, is in both instances meant. M. Milveib. p. 170. *v.* 112. 122.

Avaon, in a passage of his Song of Horses, which will be given hereafter, declares that he will adore the sacred fire on four occasions, which seem to be the solstices and æquinoxes, and adds that he will perform those adorations at the Pedyr.

8. *The World.* In this its highest symbolism, the circle represents the round form of the universe, and the temple made with hands was a type of their Deity's great eternal temple.

Hence it is called simply byd, the world. Golyddan *v.* 39. Cylch byd, circle of the world. Aneurin. Meinad gwrthgloddiad byd, stonework of the rampart of the world. Govur byd, incomplete wall of the world. Goveisus byd, the con-

[10] An inquiry into the nature and meaning of the pole would be an unnecessary digression into obscure topics. We are not considering Ceridwen's mysteries in quid, but in ubi.

trived or artificial world. Beirdd, or eilwyon, byd, bards, or minstrels, of the world.

Ev a ddaw byd,	It will come (happen) to the world,
Ni byd cerddglyd,	Our song-sheltering world,
Ni byd celvydd.	Our world of art.

The avowal of this usage may be found in the Llath Moesen,

I also will praise the supreme repository,
Pre-eminently[1] surnamed the World.

The round table of Arthur, which contained the Saint Greal, was made by Merlin for a type of the round[2] world, and was given by Pendragon to Gogyrvan father of Gwenhwyvar, who brought it to Arthur as her dowry. Morte Arthur xiv. c. 2. and iv. c. 1. From which we may collect, that the true round table was the circular sanctuary erected by Merlin. The lake or pool under the Dinas Emmrys was likewise declared by Merlin to be figura hujus mundi, a type of the world. Nennius cap. 43.

Considered in this point of view, the circle was not Britannia, and the song was no longer "cylch Prydain bo!" Yet, by this very alternation of ideas, Britannia becomes a sort of microcosm, and symbol of the world. And I observe, with a perplexity similar to that excited by Valvasone, that she was once so spoken of, beyond her own limits. For the word Microcosmis must be intended by the barbarous geographer of Ravenna, in two passages, where he says, that she was called by philosophers "as it were Micosmis," insula Britannia..... quam Græcorum philosophi quasi Micosmin appellant. *L.* 1. p. 6. *L.* 5. p. 107.

But something more should be said, on a title so famous as that of the Round Table, the Bwrdd Arthur, or Bord Cron. The chivalrous legends of a circular wooden table, to which an order of knights were admitted, can bear, of course, no earlier date than that of the order of chivalry and the

[1] Goreilenw Byd. Enw, a name; eilenw, a second name, or surname; goreilenw, an eminent surname.

[2] I suspect the strange passage in Sir Degrevant (Thornton Romances, p. 178.) comes from the misconstruction of some French book, which said the Round Table was made en mappe-monde, i. e. as a delineation of the world.

romances connected with it. He who says this, says true enough; and is not deceived by Mr. Taliesin Williams's contrivance of translating, marchawg o llys Arthur a'r vord cron, "*an equestrian* of Arthur's court and the round table." Yet he does not trace the matter to its source.

The idea of the chivalrous table is said to have been brought home to South Wales[3] by Rhys ap Tudor, on his return from Britanny in 1077; and it was an established one among the Britons of this island in 1155, when Wace said,

> Por les nobles barons qu'il ot ....
> Fist Artus la Roonde Table
> Dont Breton dient mainte fable. v. 9994.

For he never, I believe, uses Breton[4] simply, for any people but those of Great Britain.

But as the Cor Emmrys built by Merddin was a type of the world, and as the Round Table was made by the same person for a type of the world, they were either the same thing, or else he made two famous circles to typify the same object. Again, the Mount of Ambri was consecrated to receive from Erin the sacred cauldron of regeneration, and the Round Table was formed in order to receive the Saint Greal. Therefore they were the same thing, and not two different types of the same. This derives a direct and traditional confirmation from the fact, that knolls or entrenched circles of turf (caers, as it were) are popularly called Round Tables of Arthur, ex. gr. at Caerleon upon Usk, in Anglesea, and two in Westmoreland. Gough's Camden[5] iii. 201. 415. For such non-tabular and earthen tables would pass by natural transition into a common dining-table, when the system to which they had belonged was forgotten; and when the Bardic Arthur was invested with three attributes not his, reality[6], catholicity, and chivalry. While, on the other hand, a common dining-table, commemorated in song for its princely

[3] See Iolo (Mr. E. Williams's) MSS. p. 630.

[4] Though he twice uses it for Armoricans, where Bretaigne la Menor had just before been specified. 13199. 14468.

[5] See Mons. Michel's Tristan 2. p. 888, where the references must be to the first edition of Gough's Camden, as they do not agree with the second.

[6] A note of some length, on this subject, is printed at the end of this Section.

hospitalities, whether historical or fabulous, never could be converted into a[7] bleak grassy knoll. Similar remarks apply in a measure to the great round stone supported upon four others, in Caermarthenshire, called the Bwrdd Arthur. Gough's Camden 3. 142. And they apply to the Beal-teine (orifice or hole of fire) of the Gael, who "cut a table in the green sod, of a round figure, by casting a trench in the ground of such circumference as to hold the whole company." Gael. Soc. Dict. in *Bealtuinn*.

The great Cor was connected with the Bardic Arthur in a variety of ways; as his work, insomuch as Arthur's person is essentially and most clearly identical, in theosophy, with that of Merddin Emmrys; as his mystic sepulchre[8], or place of aphanism and occultation; as the crown-board or round-table, of chivalrous hospitality in the low and outer legend, and of the sacred mystic feast given to the twelve by the thirteenth, if we enter within the veil of Sangrealism; as his round shield Prydwen with MARY[9] upon it; or as his ship Prydwen, with its complement[1] of thirteen sailors.

The mundane character of the Sanctuary must be borne in mind by the interpreters of these pantheists. For they sometimes use *World* in a double sense, though at other times only in the symbolic. So when Uthyr Pendragon, in his character of the azure rainbow-girded Heaven, says, that "if his offspring were not, *the world* would not be," he seems, if the context of his Dirge be examined, to speak doubly; and to mean as well the Mithriac world of the great Demiurgus, as the Cawr-mur or Giant-wall. But when he or his same offspring is spoken of as, on certain occasions, "spreading his supremacy over the strand (or shore) of Mundus," the traeth Mundi, and when the whole order styled themselves the Beirdd Byd, a more restricted allusion to the purlieus, and to the ministry, of the Sanctuary may be apprehended.

[7] Tenere tabulam rotundam signified, to give an honourable and festive reception to the knights assembled, for the grand tournament so called. And the tabula rotunda is not to be taken for the ground upon which the tilting took place, as Camden fancied.

[8] See above Sect. VIII.

[9] See above p. 138.

[1] See above p. 172.

Father Keating the Irish antiquary (in a passage grossly mistranslated[2] by Dermot O'Conor, p. 310) mentions a tradition that no two of the stones of the Stonehenge came, originally, from the same country; in other words, it was collected from all parts of the world. That honest writer was deceived by his memory, when he ascribed this statement to Monmotensis; for Geoffrey has not a word of it. But wherever he found it, it seems to me to arise out of its titles of byd and cylch byd, circle of the world.

Political. This head of appellations is more important, than numerous. But I have observed the following, all specially applicable to the Stonehenge.

Mount Ambri is the Mynydd Dewis, Mount[3] of Election, in the account of the grave of Emmrys. Beddau 1. st. 14. This name has reference to those great days of erring zeal, in which "ungebantur reges non per Deum," and the same "paulò post ab unctoribus non pro veri examinatione trucidabantur, aliis *electis* trucioribus." Gildas cap. 19.

The same place was the cadw cynrhaith .... ar van caerau, the receptacle of the chief, or fundamental, laws .... on the place of the Caers; which laws were, probably, those of the Dyvyn-wal Mocl-mud, whereof the fame and some forgeries have reached our time. See Dyhudd. Elphin *v.* 110.

Again, it is called the Caer o ganon, the Caer of the rule, canons, or supreme authority. Tair aer, aer am gaer o ganon, three battles, in battle round the caer of authority. Meigant p. 161. And to the same purpose is Cuhelyn's cor mawr cyvoeth, great circle of dominion.

9. *Place of Dæmons.* Cor Gawr has a resemblance to Cawr-

[2] In this instance, and in several others, I am greatly indebted to the courtesy of the Rev. Dr. J. H. Todd for examining on my behalf the Irish manuscripts at Dublin, which I have neither the opportunity to consult, nor should I be any the wiser if I did.

[3] In the notes to the Irish Nennius p. xxv, I have explained my belief, that the Maes Elect (Campus Electi) in Glewysing, where Emmrys is said to have been found, was no other than the Maes Elect in Gewissing, or the Regio Gewisseorum, transferred to the Macs Aleg in Glewysing, through an ignorance (strongly marked in other ways) of the former names; and that the Plain of Election, where Emmrys was found, is that whereon stands the Mount of Election, where he was lost, and the Cor Emmrys, which he built.

mur, but I cannot learn who, in fact, ever did make use of such an expression as Cor Gawr. And I do not believe in the existence of that appellation, of which Mr. Cooke made Hebrew. It may mean Giant Circle.

But the same phrase, or Cor y Cawr, may (if it existed) have meant circle of the Devil; and so the real phrase Cor y Cawri or Cewri may mean Circle of Dæmons, as well as of Giants. For Cawr or Cewr, the Mighty, is a Bardic, as well as popular, appellation of Satan. Plaeu yr Aipht. *v.* 19. That ar Chouere, "the Dæmon" or "the Spirit," is an Armorican expression, appears from Rostrenen in *Demon* and *Genie*.

This was perhaps a stigma attached by Christians to this heathenish erection; and discreetly evaded in the Brut, which, choosing the more eligible sense, ascribed it to a tribe of *Giants* in Erin. But to the Devil, and his chief nigromancer, it is still popularly ascribed. So in Jersey all the megalithic works are, or in Falle's time were, called des Poque-laies, i. e. lapides Poqui. Ph. Falle's Cæsarea cap. vii. p. 256. They were considered as stones of the Puck, Puke, or Helle-Powke. See Jamieson Dict. and Suppl. in *Puck-Hary*. Puki, malus dæmon, Icelandic. Pocker, dæmon, pokulls, puke, diabolus, ap. Ihre. Pwg, pwcci, pwcca, goblin. Walter's Welsh Dict.

But the pantheism of this place had a subordinate polytheism of Spirits; and as the Magi of Ormuzd acknowledged the Ferouers, so did those Bards, the Faraon. Dinas Emmrys in Eryri was the Dinas of the Faraon, or Powers. But, I am convinced, nearly the whole celebrity of that in Eryri was borrowed by errour, or by Bardic substitution, from the great Din Emmrys of all Britain. See Sect. V. It is not impossible, that the Catholics and the Mystics may have differed more on the temper of the phrase Cor y Cewri, than as to the words themselves. For Cawr was, in its origin, a term of honour, not of vituperation. I cannot say, whether or not Hardyng meant Lapides Angelorum by Stone Hengles.

10. *Island of the Sea,* or *Shore Thereof.* This idea is of frequent recurrence; and, if not appreciated, must lead inquirers into perplexity and errour. The Druids did indeed hold sacred Sena and some other islets in the sea. But the

megalithic sanctuaries are not, for the most part, or systematically, placed either in islets or on shores. Some, who understood the language to be mystical, explained it as of Noah's ark, and even ascribed to the Druids a primeval Helio-Arkite religion.

But, without denying that some allusions to the Ark may be found, the ideas of an island and a sea-girt shore did, I think, essentially mean another thing. Britain was the clas mer-ddin or mei-ddin, land of the columnar sanctuary or May sanctuary; and conversely the circle was to be Britain, cylch Prydain bo. And the cauldron, which taken largely *was* that circle, or more narrowly, was *in it*, was the pair Prydain; as likewise (in other speech) the Saint Greal was the palladium of this island. The reader should here recal to mind what was before said, in Sect. IV., concerning the mysterious use and multiplication of names in Mor.

The Maes Mawr or Great Plain (the Marth[4] Prydain or Plain of Britain) was the ocean; and the purlieus of the Cor were the shores of the sea. Hence Bran was mab Llyr and the Bards Meib Llyr, sons of the Sea-shore, their fatal banquet at Ambri was the wedding feast of Llyr, and the sanctuary itself was the Llyr Henvelen. Cyndd. p. 222. The same poet expressly terms "*the Great Cor*"

> The sea-strand of my bosom, betwixt wave and sand.—p. 235.

It is also the Caer Ynys Pybyrddor, enclosure of the island of strong shelter. But nothing is more to this purpose, than the repeated praises of the holy Caer in the poem, bearing the unexplained[5] title of Mic Dinbych.

> A pleasant Caer there is on the surface of the ocean . . .
> A pleasant Caer there is on the spacious lake,
> A Dinas unenclosed, the sea surrounding it . . .
> A pleasant Caer there is on the ninth wave . . .
> A pleasant Caer there is in the gulph . . .
> A pleasant Caer there is on the smooth shore of the flood.—p. 67.

[4] As used in the name Dyvn-varth Prydain.

[5] The literal sense seems to be "the Malice of the Afflicted Din;" either that of its enemies, or its own resentment thereof. Those who explain it as the name of Denbigh or of Tenby can give no good account of it; and are forced to abandon the *Mic*.

In the Spoils of Hades, the Caer of six names was visited by a voyage on the sea, ar vor, in the sacred ship of Arthur. And so in the Royal Chair,

> What is the name of the three Caers
> Betwixt flow and ebb?
> No man, not ardent, knows
> The offspring of their ruler.
> Four Caers there are,
> In Britain well-established,
> Lords of the sea-shore.

And in the Battle of the Goddeu,

> I was in the circular enclosure
> With Dylan (Oceanus) son of the sea ....
> My pale yellow horse
> Is swift as the sea-mew
> Which cannot pass me
> Betwixt sea and shore ....
> I have slept in a hundred islands,
> In a hundred caers, with a sad[6] sleep.

And in the Dirge of Aeddon,

> The true ones laboured,
> On the sea without shores
> Long was their abode[7].

For the same reasons, in the poems of the Gododin, the scene lies on the Cat-traeth, Strand of Battle, Gall-traeth, Strand of Mightiness, and Mordai or Sea-strand. In one of them (which dissembles king Vortigern's name no farther, than by putting the purple-robed gwr teyrn[8], for the compound word Gwrtheyrn) we read,

> Red was the sea-brink above water (morva),
> And the sea-brink under water (ymmorva),
> And the demesne (eiddionydd[9]).—p. 21.

All which is declared to be but mystical phrase, and to mean the central sanctuary of the Bards, in that palmary passage of the Canu y Cwrwv, which entirely crushes the literal interpretation;

[6] Trugys. [7] Or, their confinement? trevrha.

[8] T. Jones's MS. ap. Davies p. 578.

[9] Erroneously written Eivionydd, the name of which district is irrelevant.

The central place of the songsters
Is the superb star of stars.
Have I not unveiled the mystery
Of the sea-strand of Uffin[1]
In the seas of Gododin?
Motley-worded are the communications
Of the Raven (Bran) diviner of the morning.

And Cuhelyn, speaking expressly, and so far without motley-worded mystery, on the subject of the bloody Calanmai at the Cor, employs the very same figure.

The will of his bosom's desire
Was a wave of drunkenness
Over the strand (traeth).

The Gift to Urien, recurring to the same event in the way of allusion, says,

They were like little children
Disagreeing on the
Beach of the sea.
No co-operation,
No mutual confiding
In any, concerning his asylum (cilydd).
. . . . . .
[Full] of the assembled council
Was the interval betwixt
The sea and the mount.

But the ark must be referred to by Aneurin, where he calls the stones of Gododin "the enchantment of Noah and Isaiah;" that is, the seat of bardic vaticinations, and the ark of salvation upon the mystic floods. In the World allegory, the purlieus of the Caer are styled the traeth Mundi, sea-strand of Mundus. Preiddeu *v.* 2.

By parity of metaphor, they figured their sanctuary itself, or its Female Power, as a water-fowl swimming on the sea. So Merddin, turning his thoughts southwards from Clydesdale;

From a distance unto her, 'tis mine to speak to the Sea-mew
Wonderful in the sovereignty of the chief-banquets, (Hoian. st. 22)

[1] Uffern or Ufern, Infernum, Hades or the lower regions. The same as Annwvn; see Preiddeu Annwvn *v.* 15. *v.* 20. Probably Uffin or Ufin is Infimum, the superlative, but used in the same sense. Compare the Gododin p. 12,

Rather than the outcry and slaughter of Ufin should have been.

and the author of Mic Dinbych,

> I know the white Sea-mew in Dinbych,
> Mild auxiliary of the Lord who watches over his court.

From what has been already said of Arthur's occultation or prison-grave, it will be evident that this place was (as Valvasone esteemed it) the true Ynys Avallon; as it was also the archetypal Avallen and Avallenau (one and many) of Mer-ddin Wyllt, imitated in Clydesdale.

That is an important point, and one much obscured by the prevalent legends of a most powerful Abbey. The three Doorkeepers of the gwaith Perllan Vangor, were named Gwgawn, Madawc, and Gwiawn. Triad. i. 66. ii. 38. In the Cambrian Biography gwaith is taken in the sense of battle; the battle, for that of the Bangor in Maelor; and, to agree with that interpretation, porthawr for sentinel. Perllan (Orchard) is synonymous with Avallach, and equivalent to Avallenau; and, if any of the Church Bangors were meant, it would agree best with the Bangor Wydrin or Avallonia. The Triadist gives to Gwgawn the addition of Cleddyvrhudd, to Madawc that of ap Rhun, and to Gwiawn that of ap Cyndrwyn. But notwithstanding these more recent statements, it is evident the root of this triad of names is to be found in Aneurin, or in the matters whereof Aneurin treats;

> Caradawc a *Madawc*, Pyll ag Ieuan,
> *Gwgawn a Gwiawn*, Gwyn a Chynvan.—p. 6. *v.* 327, 8.

It can ill be supposed, that Taliesin and Aneurin were both still flourishing after the action of Bangor Maelor; and as ill, that Aneurin's poem[2] related to that affair. Besides which we know, that Gwiawn ap Cyndrwyn pretty long survived the battle of Bangor; so long that[3], at the time of his death at Pengwern, Powys was described as "the honoured land of Brochvael." Whereas Aneurin affirms, that all the persons above named fell at the Gododin. ibid. *v.* 332, and 766. The *gwaith* of Perllan Vangor was therefore the same as that of the Gododin; and the Gododin was that Ban-gor or High-

[2] That it did not, we possess, though we do not want, the express assurance of Owen of Cyveilioc.

[3] See Llywarch's Dirge of Cynddylan ap Cyndrwyn p. 109. col. 1.

circle. But whether *gwaith* signified *battle* in this tradition, or *structure*, is open to doubt; since Aneurin dwells alike on the marvellous structure of the place, and the bloody conflicts there enacted. In the Triads and the Proverbs, the Stonehenge is called the Gwaith Emmrys. And Doorkeepers belong to an edifice, rather than to a conflict; the more so, when it is not said yn ngwaith, i. e. on the occasion of its occurrence, but simply gwaith as a genitive, doorkeepers thereof.

11. *Miscellaneous.* Eid-din, Caer Eiddin, Din Eiddin, the Din of *Aid*, that is, of Life, in the Gododin poems, and others.

Gwryd pletheu, the chain of plaitings or intertexture, may denote the coronal colonnade, or union of upright stones by imposts fitted to them and to each other; forming, in the new type of the druid grove, an arbour or interlacing of the upper boughs. The enchanter, if not rather dæmon, Gwydion ap Don, was

> Drud y myd a gwryd pletheu,
> Bold in the circular enclosure and chain of plaitings.

The phrase recurs in the Contrived World, in a chaos of mystic geography,

> The Land of Stars, and the Cheerful Land, and land of Syria,
> And land of Dinivdra, and land of Dinitra,
> Land of Persia, and Mercia, and land of Cana,
> *And the islands of plaiting and of the plaiting of the ape.*
> Ag ynyssedd pleth a phleth eppa. Gofeisus Byd.

Whatever the ape of Bardism means, it occurs in another place, which will presently be cited; and the Brut introduces one Eppa into the history of Merddin Emmrys. Whether the idea of imitation is symbolized in the ape, I will not presume to say. But what are the *two* islands of plaiting? Possibly they are the circular corona, and the trilithic ellipse.

Names from animals. Buarth beirdd, the cow-pen of the bards, buarth Cadvan, cow-pen of Cadvan, the patron saint of war, or cow-pen of the cad-van, place of battle. Henvonva, ma, the place, of the henvon or milch-cow, a plain type of Ceridwen and her cauldron. The ynys pleth eppa, which

falls under this same head of animals, connects itself with the Henvonva by this passage in the Praise of Lludd,

> Heb eppa, heb henvonva,
> Heb ovur byd,
> Byd a vydd difaith,
> Without the ape, without the milch-cow's stall,
> Without the incomplete-wall of the world,
> The world would be a wilderness.

Oracle, or *Place of Prophesying*. Epithets to this effect are not so frequent or so unequivocal, as might be expected from the prophetic fame of Merddin Emmrys. We have observed upon the great stone of Gododin called "the enchantment of Isaiah." To this head, I have also referred the Caer Cynan, Caer of Speech, where Hengist was immolated. And to the same, I refer the phrase ebyr, utterances, or pourings forth, which is applicable either to words, or to water. The verbs ebu and hebu, to speak, and hebwr, a speaker, belong to the former use. Accordingly, the Sons of Llyr fought over the unjoyous beverage, at the place called Ebyr Henvelen, Utterances of Belenus the Ancient; and according to the Canu y Meirch, the turbulent and fiery feast of Llyr was in the Cyn-ebyr, Chief [Place of] Utterances. The same poem calls the mystical horse of Taliesin, "the half-tamed lion, the utterance (pebyr) of the gloomy grove." The Maelderw or Archdruid in speaking of the Godo-din says,

> [In] windings come the *ebyr* round the Caer.

Ebri is another plural noun, common to sounds uttered and to any thing else that passes out; and at the holy isle of Enlli or Bardsey there were didriv didewl ebri, the unnumbered unceasing utterances. Meilyr p. 193. I think that Ebyr Henvelen and Cynebyr were titles of Mount Ambri, as an oracle or seat of prophecy; in support of which I will further cite the lines of Cynddelw to Owain ap Madoc.

> Enthusiasts are the bards for the highly-gifted ravager,
> The man who shall give me the gift of ruddy gold,
> Foremost of the host to confront the battle tumult,
> Like the tumult of the *Ebyr* when the *Llyr* was crowded,
> Crowded round the foreign chief and the chief of the great valley.—p. 214.

Ebyr yn llyr llawn, taken by itself, might signify no more

than æstuaries with their banks or channel full of water, but the following line seems to disprove it. I suppose the foreign chief to be Hengest (the allmyr or foreigner of Avan Redspear, above p. 89) and that Ystrad Mawr, which word ystrad is sometimes rendered *plain*, was put for Maes Mawr, on account of its rhythm with estrawn. Therefore he speaks of the Ebyr Henvelen, and of the Llyr Henvelen; concerning which latter, we shall presently hear him speak once more.

The whole spirit of these various appellations, and of the bardic hypothesis by which the names and misfortunes of this place are transferred, not only to the analogous slaughter of the twelve (1200 = 12B) at the Bangor Iscoed, as in the Song of the Sons of Llyr, but to any place or circumstances in which trouble came upon those firebrands of song, will derive illustration from passages of the poem addressed by the Chief-Bard of Powys to its prince Owain of Cyveiliawg. Something had occurred in the wars of that prince, himself a bard, against Rhys ap Griffith, which moved the indignation of Cynddelw on behalf of his order; and in particular we find, that Owain had persecuted and driven into banishment the bard Morad, conformably in Cynddelw's opinion to the rules of the general synod. Whatever these squabbles were, they assume in his diction the forms of Hengest at Ambri, and (perhaps) of Ethelfrid at Bangor; but chiefly of the former.

> At the meeting of supreme festivity
> Hand to hand is the turmoil, tumultuous the host in the fair towers,
> The meeting-place for numbers, perfect in its holiness,
> Of the country exhausted by the policy (moes) of Maximus [4].
> Very harsh is the violence, beyond the Llyr [5] of Henvelen.
> Greatly raging cauldron of the four [6] elements,
> Rider of the pale [7] horses,
> To me it pertains to imitate thee,

[4] Who drained Britain of soldiers.

[5] Penetrating beyond the margin, or watermark, of the Henvelen island, and consequently into the heart thereof.

[6] Echen, origins or sources. So in Llywarch Pr. y Moch, pair o pedwar *devnydd*. That is the meaning; not echen, tribes.

[7] Horses are symbolical of Fire. See the whole of the Canu y Meirch. The pale horses symbolize the sacred fires kept in the Cor or Great Cauldron, and situated under the cauldron proper, to heat the same. Of the sacred fire and

To me Cynddelw [master] of the art of Gogyrven.
Heavy the career of the ruler, the wrath of the thick-sheltering shelter,
The net full of holes, enjoying the grace of my Spirit.
In the turmoil, united in her [8] rotundity, united in her ardour,
The lofty giantess, otherwise [called] the Caer,
Speedily provided food for the ravens.

. . . . . .

The surge of the crowd is the tumult of the surf on the beach,
The perverse violence of the poisonous-sweet wine-feast.
Of the hawk of victory inured to the drinking-horn
No man can frustrate the purpose,
Armed troops, confusion to the English in the outcry
From Bangor even to Bangeibyr Tydoch.
Ample to you, O bards! is the benefit,
To the stallions of the court there is no obstruction,
The stallions red with the wild-boar's onset.
The great gift is [shed] habitually over you,
The white horse [9] partially interspersed with red.

. . . . . .

Red-adorn'd is the retinue round the great marble gates [1].
Griffith's son is ardent on the border,
Red his blade from slaughtering profusely.
In the advance, among the equal sharp points,
Red are the arms on the place of battle, red-coloured the banner,
Before the face of the bards of Bangor.
Red the circular complete [2] quaternion,
Which is on the horse with the fourfold horse-cloth.
Red the breach of the blade from tumult, from riot,

its symbols, including the Horse, something will be said in the following Section.

[8] Cygrwn, cygres.

[9] The sacred fire, here spoken of as the source of bardic inspiration.

[1] The trilithic arrangement, seen in the Circle, and in the Triliths proper, is called Porta by Henry of Huntingdon and Janua by Olaus Magnus, and every couple, saith John Stow, (Annales p. 53) sustaineth a third stone lying overthwart, gate-wise. Mr. Bolton, in his Nero Cæsar, terms them "heaps of massive marble." I conceive Cynddelw to speak of the same subject in his pyrth marmor mawr. So also he addresses Owain Gwynedd as the

> Lord who supports for me the thick-sheltering harbourage,
> Supporting shield of the gates of great marble,
> (Porthloedd ysgwydawr pyrth mawr marmor)
> Fiercely-raging lord of the bounds of the mighty plain.—p. 205.

As the one poem is addressed to the Prince of Powys and the other to the Prince of Gwynedd, no private gates can be described; nor could any one call Gwynedd a mighty plain.

[2] The circular quadruple caerau upon Mount Ambri, placed over the sacred fire, which latter is surrounded by that fourfold integument. See above p. 120, l.

Red the rage of the purple (the princes).
The heroic man in the doorway endured
The morning fury in the first onset against the border,
Blows on the shield before the enclosure of the Din-of-bulls (Dinteirw),
And dead men before the wall of the Cor,
A struggle against the lion, against the chief of the four[3] borders.
Violence over Lloegria, and an array being broken,
A scattering before the rage of the green sea and the thick-shelter,
And tumult, and the valiant with ready shields,
And wounds, and three[4] hundred biers.
. . . . . .
The chief hero of the glorious shelter
In exalting the Cor
Will demand a great acquisition,
Eagle of battle, insolent in refusing,
Fiery in movement, lofty in demanding.
The perfect extension having four borders [is]
The veil of fair Powys the land of Brochvael,
The sword-smiting wall of golden[5] turnings, puissant its border.

p. 222, 3.

Portions of the above mystic language, relating to the pale horses and stallions, receive illustration from the following lines in the dirge of Einion ap Madoc, p. 234.

Have I not attacked the oppression of foreigners?
The well-fed stallions of the colour of the ocean fish
Lead the brisk chieftain to the battle-field,
And the white war-horse with a curly tail,
The undeniable dragon of the bloody ruler
Of the giant Dinas endowed with rough-edged spears.

The eulogy on Madoc ap Meredith p. 210 may next be cited,

Vigilant protector of the cauldron of four spaces,
Accomplish'd Madoc, knight of the enclosure[6]!
My bard-speech under heaven is not incoherent,
My bard-words towards thee are not unworthy, nor feeble,
Eager for battle for the Caer, for the fair place of heroes.
Thick around the brave lion is the largess of white silver,
A scattering for a new year's gift, a host about the enemies,
Tumult of waves flowing about the strand and the sea-mew's track.

[3] The four divisions of the Cor, as just mentioned.

[4] One of the two mystic numbers in the slaughter of the Calanmai, or Cyntevin feast.

[5] Eurdyrn; qu: whether from twrn or dwrn?

[6] Marchawg midlan, the same terms in which Cuhelyn described Eiddeol Gadarn, as superintendent of the Cor of Ambri.

My song is a pilgrim to the Go-vur[7], to the Go-van,
Sweet-manner'd honour, praise (unlikely to perish)
Of the agitator of the foe, with pierced shield.
I have drunk in thy well-built court of Leision
The gold-encircled liquor contained in the golden cup,
The golden-tipped horn, the high horns of the wild bull.
Thou didst set apart unto us the holy life,
The stallions high-bounding from the hand beneath the banner,
Sleek in the brake of stags [and] over their fair fodder,
Of the colour of the blue fishes of the ocean shoal.

What follow are taken from the dirge of Cadwallon ap Madoc in p. 220.

The limit of my labours is my measure [of claim].
I have duly proportioned much song to much gain.
The Great-Cor, the beloved, is swift as the flashing lightning,
With [its] very stern Lord, free in giving to me,
With very violent Emmrys of various[8] garbs,
[Our] mutually-taught-learning, our joint maintenance,
The one-coloured pale ones as swift as hawks,
The gold-adorned proud and glorious saddle
Of the honoured rider of the flying horses.

And presently afterwards,

He opened his court for the benefit of the world-minstrels,
The provisions went to the guests,
In his body's life-time, a stream from the milk-dairy of the bards,
In his life, a ruler of the land of the high societies,
He habituated them to profit and prizes,
The managed fast-trotter with long grey sides.

All these passages must be considered with a reference to the first, where the cauldron of Henvelen, the Giant Caer, was said to "ride upon the pale horses." But it is not therefore to be denied, that in some of them the literal and mystical significations are united. See the brilliant, salmon-coloured, yellow, and dappled horses of the Prydydd y Moch, in p. 285. &c.

In the elegy on the family of Owain Gwynedd, he appears to compare the slaying of one of them to the violence at the Cor Emmrys, p. 225.

[7] See above p. 184.

[8] Amrhyw tudded. The vestments of office; or rather, the disguises and arts of concealment, so much practised and boasted of by the Ambrosian order.

Lo! the death of the noble, caring for the host,
The death of the beloved of my soul,
His corpse, a contention to the crowd, the rush of bickering flame
[At] the Cor equal to the wants of the world.
Lo! Madoc is slain in the insurgent wrath of the wall,
Mine it is to mourn my loved supporter.

In his apology to Rhys ap Griffith it appears to me that Cynddelw compares the shield of that prince to the great circle of the Bards, and digresses into an ardent encomium of the latter. This was, I believe, no new image; for it was the royal shield Prydwen, as well as the Round Table. p. 226. p. 235.

May the will of the Trinity be to me in the way of mercy,
For goodwill and for eulogy
To celebrate his battle-swift golden-flowered
Shield, like to the net[9] shield in its vehemence.
Let the wall of the Great-Cor be discoursed of in [our] discourse,
The sea-strand of my bosom, betwixt wave and sand.
Wall of the great land, beset by the great multitude,
Wall of the great place of the high carousal of famous mead,
Wall of great terrour, great tumult of horsemen,
Wall of the very violent very severe[1] ceremonial,
Conversation[2] with thee [is] one complete blasphemy;
Of myself I cannot keep[3] up your praise.
I will praise the man, &c.

The following lines addressed to Owain Gwynedd are in a similar spirit to the former quotations. p. 205.

Judges by appointment, bards by pre-eminence,
The Bards praise thee, Druids of the asylum (dor),
From the four-speech'd summoning of the four borders,
And a Bard of the mount of the violated-asylum (breu-dor) extols thee.

[9] The brwyd-din or brwyd rhwyd, the stone wall full of holes or interstices, like a net. A warrior falling riddled with many wounds is called rhwyd vrwyd vrwydrglwyv, the battle-wounded net full of holes. p. 225. Here, the Cor is termed the net shield so far *positively*, that another shield is *compared to it*.

[1] This alludes to the *oeth*, or severities, practised under the veil of the *annoeth* or mystery.

[2] Cyvair, equivalent to cyvaddrawdd or cyvariaith. What I understand is this, that familiar unmystical discourse addressed to the Cor, in lieu of the lled-iaith, go-gair, bardd-air, bardd-llev, &c., would be a profanation.

[3] Cynnail. In the other copy ceneis, *sing*. Feeling how difficult it is to address the awful sanctuary without profanation, and feeling myself alone to be unequal to a theme worthy of the choral song of all Britain, I turn again to the praise of Rhys.

Another British appellation is read in two Triads, of unknown date, and obscure history. Those triads were printed in a pamphlet of Mr. Williams Junior, entitled Coelbren y Beirdd, and intended to supply by arguments the non-existence of the principal documents, which should have verified the disputed story of Glendower's bards and their coelbren. p. 38. Llandovery 1840. One of the eleven triads there printed goes so far as to assert that the word coelbren means *letters*.

The 2nd and 3rd of them are as follows. "Three chief sessions or meeting-places (gorsedd) of the Bards of Britain [were] the gorsedd of the Bryn Gwyddon at Caerleon upon Usk, and the gorsedd of the Moel Evwr, and the gorsedd of Beiscawen."—"Three sessions of perfect art (cyvan-gerdd) in Britain [were] the gorsedd of Beiscawen in *Dyvnwal*, and the gorsedd of Caer Caradawc in Lloegria, and the gorsedd of Bryn Gwyddon in Cymmru."

The editor, while publishing these documents, said, "the authorities shall be produced if required." This is an unusual way of ushering proofs into the world; for the world must always require the authorities. Dr. Owen Pughe, in a letter to Sir R. Colt Hoare (Anc. N. Wilts p. 83), reasoned upon these Triads fantastically enough, in the view of showing that their Bryn Gwyddon was Silbury in Wilts. Therefore, either these Triads did not then contain the words "at Caerleon upon Usk" and "in Cymmru," and were seen by him in a less perfect stage of their existence, than they have since attained; or else, that author imposed upon the unsuspicious mind of Sir R. C. H. by garbling and suppressions, operating as fabrications. And to acquit him at the expense of others is neither my business, nor my inclination.

My belief is, that some of these Triads, including the two in question, are of much older date than the existing Coelbren controversy. The main theoretical support, given to the coelbren characters upon the peithynen frame-work, consists in accumulating the instances of phrases either plainly derived, or attempted to be derived, from trees, wood, and the cutting of wood. Indeed one poem by Guto of the Glyn certainly lends sanction to the tale, that, after Glendower's

revolt, the bards used for want of other materials to cut out their verses upon wood. But among the many such phrases, coelbren and peithynen are unavoidably omitted. In Triad 6th, the words gwynwyddigion beirdd seem[4] as if they had supplied the place of gwynvydigion beirdd, in order to bring in gwydd, in the sense of *wood*. To the 8th, words are annexed, which assert gorwyddawd to mean letters; while the 9th demonstrates it to mean superior knowledge, i. e. philosophy. But adaptation is of things pre-existing; and especially, a trickish unsuccessful adaptation.

Gorsedd Beiscawen is understood without doubt to mean the stone circle upon the Oons[5] or Downs of Boscawen. The great territorial divisions, containing the three gorseddau, are Dyvnaint, Lloegyr, and Cymmru, to the first of which Boscawen[6] belongs. And in extracts, ascribed to Llywelyn Sion, who died in 1616, the same gorsedd is correctly termed that of Dyvnaint ynghadair Beisgawen. Iolo MSS. p. 62. Yet here we see it miscalled *Dyvnwal*, the appellation of a man, and of no country whatever. But a document that appears in a corrupt form, must have passed through several hands and from some antiquity, and is not made for the occasion. Besides which, the benefit resulting to the coelbren cause from these two Triads limits itself to the word Gwyddon[7], and its insinuated derivation from gwydd, wood; which may be a straw to catch at, but is scarcely a motive for invention. The partition of the island into three di-

[4] Not merely from the words gwynwydd and gwynwyddig being (quoad me) unauthenticated, but because the englynion upon the same Dewi, to whom the epithet is here applied, also apply to his Bardic education the word gwynvydig. See also gwynvydig y veirdd in Cyndd. p. 214, and various other instances.

[5] Uun, downs. Borlase, Cornish Vocab.

[6] The Lizard was the Dumnonian Foreland of the ancients.

[7] Owen's Dictionary has contrived an authority for gwyddon, as a noun singular, by changing the text and curtailing the metre of the line it quotes. Two years before, he had printed the passage (in Myvyr.) as Taliesin's, but he quotes it as from Jonas of Menevia. Another copy of the poem, printed in British Mag. XIX. 664, confirms the falsehood of his quotation from it.

Probably Bryn Gwyddon is from the name of that fabulous character, Gwyddon Ganhebon, to whom some Bards referred the invention of their art. Triads iii. 92. 97. But he would be the worst of witnesses for the coelbren, since he wrote upon stones.

visions, excluding Prydyn or Alban, and taking in Dyvnaint (made distinct from Cymmru) into its place, together with the removal of the Chair of Dyvnaint to so remote a corner of that large kingdom as Boscawen in Cerniw Dyvnaint, shows that these Triads, whensoever composed, have no primary and Cynvarddic antiquity.

Now, in comparing these two variations of one Triad, we perceive that the gorsedd of Caer Caradawc, or Stonehenge, is identical with the gorsedd of Moel Evwr. This extraordinary name signifies the mound—of what?

Dr. Owen in the 1st edition of his Dictionary, gives the following gloss and instances. Evwr, a hedge, a fence, a shelter. Melyn eithin, crin evwr, The furze is yellow, the *hedge* is dry. Chweg evwr, chwerthiniau ton, Sweet the *sheltering hedge*, the wave is blustering. But his 2nd edition says, evwr, the cow-parsnep, it grows profusely about Dinevwr, where it is the name of the plant. Then he quotes and renders the same two lines of Llywarch, putting *cow-parsnep* for *hedge*. Bwr, an enclosure, an entrenchment, is the derivation.

What, if his second discovery be the blunder after all? The formation of evwr from bwr is so clear and analogical, that any one would say at once, that whatever bwr was, evwr was the same, or a mode of the same. We should more readily believe, that the gorsedd Caer Caradawc stands on the enclosed or encircled mound, than on the mound of wild parsneps. And the 133rd line of the Anghar Cyvyndawd can, I think, only be rendered "[I know] *wherefore blood is a protection*, or *wherefore the protection is blood*," pan yw creu evwr; for it would be silly to boast of knowing, why blood is a cow-parsnep.

Besides which, the known change of B or P initial into EV is wont to leave the meaning imperceptibly changed, or at most, slightly; but not to pass into a new sense. Therefore bwr, *enclosure*, will pass into evwr, *the same*, or evwr, *hedge*, but not into evwr, *cow-parsnep*. It follows, there is no such word as evwr for that herb, properly; nor otherwise, than by established (but as Owen insinuates, local) ellipsis for llysiau yr evwr, the hedge herb. Dr. Owen farther con-

firms this by his other gloss in ed. 2nd, "evyr-llys" (that is, llysiau yr evyrau, herb of the hedges) "a cow-parsnep." For llysiau precedes and llys follows distinct words or names, of a descriptive or illustrative character, showing where the herb grows, its colour, what malady it cures, to what person it is sacred, and numberless peculiarities, the two together *forming* the name of the plant; but llysiau and llys do not precede or follow[8] *names of plants.*

No herb could with more propriety be called Llysiau yr Evwr than the Sphondylium Heracleum of which we speak. For it grows "in moist meadows, and the borders and corners of fields, throughout England generally." Salmon's Herbal cap. 545. Mr. Babington's Manual gives its habitat in this one word, "Hedge-banks." ed. 1. p. 134. Llywarch Hên may well enough have said, that the sheltering hedge was sweet; but he would hardly say a cow-parsnep was sweet, considering its "grievous and rank savour," and that "each part thereof hath an evil savour." Johnson's Gerarde cap. 393. And why he should call a rank succulent plant, growing in moist places, *dry*, is not apparent.

If Dinevwr can be construed to mean Castrum-sphondylii, we cannot thus deal with Gwenevwr, where Elidyr Mwynvawr lies buried, (Beddau i. st. 12) for there evwr is not governed as a genitive, but agrees with the adjective; which comes to an absurdity. Therefore, notwithstanding the umbelliferous weeds growing in its neighbourhood and "throughout England generally," the princely Dinevor may yet hope to maintain its dignity as the Fortified Station, and the Gorsedd Mocl Evwr, as the Congress of the Encircled Mound.

Should the number of these instances be reduced by the better judgment of critics, it will be no less augmented by their better diligence, or their access to sources which are not open to me.

The value of this imperfect recital of names or phrases does not resolve itself into mere verbal enumeration. Its

[8] So in English we might say hedge-wort, but scarcely parsnep-wort. For though worts, i. e. herbs, are in very rare instances compounded with the names of other vegetables, it is always with such as are remotely distinct in nature, as peach-wort, and rose-wort.

bearing upon our main question is heavy. For it shows with what a great and burning zeal the Britons of the ages after the Romans regarded these works, and especially that one, which was imperial and central, the cor mawr cyvoeth. It must be remembered, that our earliest extant bards, and those with whom they were engaged, were men acquainted with the cor mawr, and superintendents or eye-witnesses[9] of its solemnities, before the year 552, in which the battle of Sarum gave South Wilts to the Gewissean Saxons. Such was Maelgwn Gwynedd king of Britain, his famous Tal-iesin who had been the Mer-ddin, the Mer-ddin surnamed Wyllt, Aneurin ap Caw, and perhaps all those who were affiliated to the caw. That some of the poems[1] now extant were composed before that year, and speak of the national sanctuary as still actually (not hypothetically) used and frequented, I see no reason to doubt. From the personal knowledge of that generation, was the fierce and vivid remembrance handed down to succeeding ages. But such feelings, as these were, are felt by no race of men except for their own affairs.

Three centuries and a half had wrought great changes. Civilization had come in, and the rudest nomadic habits with the rudest beginnings of husbandry had been exchanged for rich industry and ample exportations of grain. A wild country, townless in Cæsar's days (who saw its most civilized parts), beginning with Verulamium and Camulodunum had covered itself with cities. The Roman worship, abhorring the homicidal magic of the forests, had prevailed for ages; and Christianity, abhorring it still more, was introduced. The form of Druidism was much altered from its original type; and from a matter of open display was converted into a secret lore.

If the old sanctuaries had been suffered by Roman apathy to stand uninjured, and were restored to use, they could

[9] Though none of them could actually say to our sages, as poor Edie said to Monkbarns, "Prætorium here, prætorium there, I mind the bigging o't," they could say almost as good.

[1] Those, for example, which are addressed to Urien Rheged, and are cited above p. 168.

never have been re-established in their original estimation. That would violate a great law of human nature, applicable even to shorter periods and minor changes. We may indeed gather up our spent arrows, and replace them in the quiver; but the feather is crushed, or the point is blunted. So an altered religion has retained, and yet does retain, those splendid cathedrals which the zeal of an older faith had erected. They are preserved by a mixture of feelings; by a taste for architectural beauties, and antiquarian curiosity; and by a general respect for the higher aspirations of man, whatever may have been their form. But they belong to other generations; and have been kept up by the succeeding race of sermon-critics, to whose pursuits such temples are inapplicable, only by toleration, and a remnant of customary reverence, not by attachment. And so it must be in this world. Whoever knows this world will see, that the sentiments and language of the Bards are not those of men reverting to the extant monuments of distant ages, as the memorials of a long lost independence. They speak of the present, and breathe all reality and intensity of purpose; and their awful fanaticism is more than in earnest. I am mistaken, if this be not a moral argument of the most convincing kind.

Note (6) to page 192.

The mystical nature of Arthur fully appears from numerous considerations, some of which are briefly suggested below.

1. Because of the identity of his miraculous conception, aphanism, prison-grave, and life-in-death, with those of Ann ap Lleian or Merddin Emmrys. While the difference both of nomenclature and details proves an essential identity of matter, and not a confusion or mistake of names.

2. Because the same identify him, in his birth, with the pagan fables of Jove, Mercury, Alcmena, and Hercules, and of Ammon, Olympias, and Alexander; and, in his aphanism, with Adonis and Memnon. The first identification is avowed, by calling the guardian power of Britain, Erewlf Mawr, and Alexander Mawr, in poems of the deepest mysticism.

3. Because the points of identity, subsisting between his history and that of Attila king of the Hunns, can by no means be fortuitous. And they signify more than a mere piracy of facts, to swell out a jejune story. For Arthur's life was in his sword Caledvwlch; and, after the Camlan, when he was hag-dile, gash-extinguished, he appeared to Eliwlod as the cleddydawg uthyr, "portent

of the sword," and miniawg o lliw, "acute-edged of shape." In the Preiddeu Annwvn, a poem entirely relating to him, he receives the similar appellation of Lleminawg, or, more correctly, Llyminawg, the Acute-edged,

The sword bright gleaming unto him was brought,
And in the hand of Llyminawg it was left,
And before the entrance of the gate of Hades the horn of battle is blazing.

It is curious to observe that the like is said of the Celi in his name of Hu, which shows that no warrior's swordsmanship, but a divine symbol, was thus expressed.

He is called Hu, the lion, &c.
Pillar of tumult,
Fiercely flaming
At the door of Paradise,
The chosen shepherd, &c.

Here he becomes the revolving fiery sword of the Cherubim. Llath Moesen. *v.* 24. The sword and the sword-bearer are as one being. But this was the religion of the Mars Scythicus; upon which Attila founded his empire; and combined it with the initiations of the later Essenes, styling himself nutritus in Engaddi.

4. Because Arthur was the Sun, honoured as a deity, but figured as a warrior, i. e. as Mithras. It is one thing, to talk of a hero being the sun of our glory, of its rising, setting, &c., which figures describe a man through the figure of the Sun; and quite a different thing, to describe the Sun through other figures. It is of the warrior Sun, the Mars Mithras, that Llywarch (half-undeceived, and nearly half-sane) says,

The Bull of Tumult, the Lord of War,
The Staff of Battle, the Lamp on high,
Pervader of heaven, too much hath he been listened to.—Henaint p. 142.

And his meaning is the surer, from his language not being that of praise, but of depreciation.

But, in the dialogue with Eliwlod, Arthur is invoked, not only as the acute-edged portent of the sword, but as the elevated centre or object of veneration (gwyddva), and the elevated swiftly-moving lamp, ardderchawg llamp-rhe.

5. His father's name Uthyr, the Portent, is supernatural, and not really a name; least of all the name of a Roman, brother to Aurelius Ambrosius, and son to Constantinus. And the said Uthyr signifies, in his Dirge, that he is the Azure Firmament (id sublime candens quem invocant omnes Jovem), and that the rainbow is his belt in battle. It follows in course, that the son or eisillydd (offspring) of Uthyr Gorlassar, who fills the place of Ormuzd, should be Mithras. And his twelve battles, in all imaginable parts of the island, correspond with the twelve Herculean labours.

That Arthur was a form of the Crist Celi, is the secret of the strange and unparalleled legend of the Cross of Wedale. Nennius c. 63, in some MSS. In Jerusalem he made a cross, of the size of Christ's, and consecrated it, and by

virtue of it obtained victory over the Pagans. The reliques of that cross were religiously preserved at Wedale. The Bardic Jerusalem (the Caer of the Grave of the Lord Tetragrammaton, the Sion of the Dominators, the Jerosolima where the British and Armoric saints are to assemble) is known to the students of that dark creed. But here we have reliques of the true cross—of Arthur!

6. Arthur had three wives, all bearing the name of Gwenhwyvar, and daughters of three different persons, the said name being otherwise unknown; which can neither be, nor be meant for, a fact.

That name is mystical to a certainty, for his rival Medrawd's wife was Gwenhwyvach, which differs from Gwenhwyvar by substituting bach, little, for bar, lofty. And the rivalship of those two Gwenhwys, the bach, and the bar, caused the downfal of Arthur.

7. The rivalry between Arthur of the sword and Medrawd of the golden tongue was, in effect, the same dispute we find hinted under various phrases; the disclosure or concealment of Bran's head, the toleration or destruction of Merddin's Avallenau, the liberty or imprisonment of Elphin, the system of the true Bards, and that of "the detested followers of Tysilio."

The combat between them was an overcad. That is a battle, not really being such, though so described; as an overvardd was a bard not properly such. The causes of the over-cads are absurd and laughable, and no otherwise expressing realities, than through signs and symbols. But the real causes of the great overcad of Aryvderydd are sufficiently known. Their names are also fictitious. That of Aryvderydd is so, beyond all dispute; and that of Goddeu, to all appearance. Cam-llan signifies the Field of Iniquity. There were various overcads, besides the three in the Triad; such as the war of Bran against Matholwch, and that of Uthyr against the Gillamuire of Erin.

8. All history, not fabulous on its face, and especially those of Gildas and Beda, are silent. But some reasons exist for thinking, that the peculiar astral title given to this personage, arth ur, the bear aloft, was in use among the fanatics. For Gildas derides the petty tyrant Cynglas as "the bear causing many to sit, and the charioteer of the chariot of the receptacle of the Bear," or "the chariot the receptacle," currûs receptaculi Ursi. If Cynglas is not here charged with assuming to be the Arthur himself, ursus multorum sessor, he is at least the steward or priest of his receptacle. The father of Elphin was styled Dewr-Arth Wledig, the Heroic Bear the Sovereign. And the Lady of the Sanctuary is styled "the arthawc chwaer, sister of the Bear, at the Asylum." Myvyr. p. 50. col. 2.

9. Arthur, so gigantic in Romance, but more awful and mysterious in Bardism, cannot be a superstructure built on the basis of a real man's life. For that can only happen to a life of superior greatness and effectual success, either as a restorer or a conqueror. Such causes obtained for Alexander his miraculous conception; and made Attila and Charlemagne the heroes of Teutonic and Italian romance. But it is certain that no effectual successes marked the period assigned to Arthur; the bull of tumult and lamp of heaven was too much listened to, the charioteers of the receptacle of the bear proved despicable tyrants, and the subjugation of the island held on its fated progress. The history is almost all a lie, while the mystery is all true. That they honoured the acute-edged gladial portent Arthur, the exalted swiftly-moving lamp Arthur,

is true ; but that for so doing they obtained any better reward, than the sword of Cerdic, and the tongue of Gildas, is untrue.

10. Whenever the question is, whether it be some warlike chief, or some tutelary war-god or war-saint, that is signified, the mere mention of the person in poetry can never prove the former conclusion ; and no where less, than in Bardic poetry. If it could, we should learn from Claudian, that Quirinus was a general in the service of Honorius, for his army "sequitur vexilla Quirini."

So it is when we read in Llywarch, that Geraint and other warriors "in Llongborth were slain unto Arthur." When we consider, that Llywarch's "bull of tumult, lord of war, and staff of battle" was the lamp on high, the pervader of heaven, and that Eliwlod's Arthur was both the portentous sword and the swift lamp on high, we may conjecture who was Llywarch's Arthur, imperator and conductor of the labour. The same combination of words, "amherawdyr llywiawdyr," is addressed by bards to the Celi Christ.

It is untrue, that Llywarch has any where else named Arthur. In his Henaint, he deplores the death of his son Gwen at the ford of Morlas on the Llawen, which had happened *on the previous night*, in these words.

> Gwen kept watch by the Llawen last night,
> He slunk not away groaning,
> *A thuc* ni thecas.—p. 116.

And the same idea is repeated, four triplets afterwards,

> Gwen .... being my son, slunk not away (ni thecas).

Yet this correct reading has, in some copies, been turned into *Arthur* ni thecas, Arthur did not slink away. So that Arthur is made commander at the ford of Morlas in that extreme period of Llywarch's age, to which his Henaint is ascribed ! So great an extravagance, that one hardly thinks the person who intruded it into the text could mean a literal Arthur.

Yet I must fairly confess my own disbelief in the enormous longevity of Llywarch, called Hên or the Old. He received that title from himself in his Henaint ;

> Such is the grave of Gwen son of Llywarch Hên, *etc.*—p. 117. 119.

When he gave himself that epithet, the prime of his life (of course) was past ; but he had attained to no considerable age. He describes himself as enfeebled, afflicted by cough and illness, and using a wooden staff ; yet in the same poem he describes himself as a warrior then preparing for the field, and utters these bold menaces,

> Sharp is my spear, gleaming in the onset,
> I will prepare to watch at the ford.

He repeatedly complains that young women are no longer pleased with his person, in terms which belong to the turn of life, rather than to venerable years. But, lastly, his mother was still living. For he alludes to the protracted labour of his own birth, as an omen of his toilsome destinies. He prays his mother to forgive him that long travail, seeing that he is her son. And asks her, if she did not recognize in his infant smile the birth of a chieftain for her race. That querulous and unfeeling man (who is com-

plaining that the girls do not fancy him, on the day after the death of his last son) may have seen some sixty years when he made those triplets.

Considering these things, and that his title of Hên, received from himself, is best interpreted by himself, I conclude that the Dirge of Cadwallon was composed by another hand. For its author was in full vigour, calling Cadwallon his *brother*, (a title of endearment, inconsistent with great disparity of age,) and threatening vengeance for him, in which he was himself to take a part, after the battle of Denisbourn in 634. Nevertheless, I should by no means suppose, that the lugubrious effusion, in which Llywarch deplores his infirmities and the loss of all his children, was written before 542 or the overcad of Camllan.

SECTION XI.

The Erection of Ambri connected with the renewal of independence. Peculiar circumstances of that Independence. Ambri was the capital of the new federal monarchy. It was a seat of Astrologers. And the Pyrèum of the Sacred Fire.

The revolt of the insular and Armorican Britannias in 408, and abdication of Honorius son of Theodosius, was an unique event, curious in its nature and, locally at least, momentous; though described to us in very few words of Count Zosimus. The rest of the Empire crumbled away by the conquering inroads of the foreigner. But here a conquest of the early Cæsars was restored to the mixed race of its ancient inhabitants and Roman colonists.

Concerning this unique event we learn little of plain story, from internal tradition; except that one Eugenius (Owen), said to be a son of Maximus, established that independence. Mystical insinuations of a dark nature illustrate the character of that event; and the Chronicle of Kings does the like (more convincingly, in my appreciation of the value of that work), by suppressing all allusion to that event and to its authors.

Yet that event did come to pass; and under difficulties obviously great. Much of this island was civilized, urban, Latin-spoken, and Christian; and composed the *Romana Insula*. While much of it to the south-west, to the middle west or beyond Severn, and northward without bounds, was held by clans of native speech and manners, faintly impregnated with Christianity. Even the southern, or British, Picts had as yet[1] made no general profession of it. Under such

[1] Five years (at the least) intervening between those events.

circumstances, not only was ultimate failure probable, but even momentary success would seem unattainable. There appears a chaos, without the elements of order or union. How was the ancient religion to be recalled from its long exile in "the ardent lovely land of Erin," and replanted upon Christian soil? How, in "the uprising of the Britons from under the race of Rome," were their tribes and chieftains to be kept in union, or even in peace, with that race?

But the problem found some solution. During nearly half a century, to the battle of Wippedsfleet, the new state was held together, free from extreme reverses, except on the mural frontiers. And nearly 90 years elapsed, ere Cerdic commenced in real earnest the slow subjugation of Britannia. This period includes some years of prosperity, wealth, and luxury, which the rhetoric of Gildas exaggerates; but, as he morally ascribes to their seductive influence much of the evil that ensued, he must be serious as to the fact.

The nature of man scarcely furnishes a solution, otherwise than in the influence of a strong and zealous faith; comprehensive enough to unite the nearly and quite heathen parts of the population, in a sort of freemasonry, with a large portion of the professors of ordinary Christianity; yet very positive and real, not merely conciliating by the negations of liberality; but again, of such an oblique and guarded[2] method, as not to interrupt the organic constitution of the apostolic church, where established, but to run parallel with it. And (we may perhaps not unjustly add) to extend that constitution, or, in vulgar phrase, to convert the natives; but so to convert them, as to a thing of decent exterior, and to words of fair sound, but with benefit, rather than prejudice, to other and real bonds of union. It is uncertain what precise game Martin, Sulpicius Severus, St. Ninia of Candida Casa, Germanus with Lupus, Germanus again with Palladius Patricius and Succat Patricius, Sidonius, Faustus of Riez, Brighida of Kildare, and lastly Columkille, were playing.

[2] Prudence required Owain ap Maxim to conceal Bran, when he brought him home from Erin; and of those days, which have been called the reign of Arthur son of Pendragon and the Eigyr, it was the fatal imprudence to uncover Bran.

Perhaps, few of them stand entirely clear of this thing. But here I should have to encounter vehement opposition[3] in various quarters, and from several strong motives.

Those, whose minds are indocile to all suggestions of this kind, must remember that the task, so difficult, and requiring such great efforts of skilful agency, *was achieved.* We learn historically that the princes and people, retrograding towards paganism, yet non gentium diis *perspicuè* litantes, did act with a fierce zeal; but with a zeal sufficiently united in its objects and policy, to co-exist with a high degree of worldly prosperity. We read various extant monuments of this spirit, in the two forms, of a violent zeal still subsisting, and of a shamefaced dissimulation; and have to admire therein the systematic consistency and monotonous uniformity of ideas. It has even appeared (to me, at least) that this zeal was not only found consistent with prosperity, but was almost the only conceivable bond of a national existence unusually precarious.

The success of these measures would seem to require the system of the Church to be kept up; but without maintaining unity of communion with the catholic Latin church. Accordingly, it is almost at the precise time of Britain's separation from the Empire, that the paschal schism is said to have arisen there, upon the suggestions of Sulpicius Severus. See S. Adhelm. Epist. ad Gerontium, and Usher Index Chron. in anno 410. Although in Gaul, his own country, and the natural scene of his influence, no such disturbance was introduced[4].

[3] Without entering upon any disputes having religion for their object, I feel an historical inconvenience in the express and formal canonization, and enrolment in Calendars, of holy persons living in the more complex ages after Constantine. For the doubts upon fact, which historical scrutiny may fairly engender, are thereby rendered in a manner scandalous, and questions that should be open are closed and prejudicated. It operates to convert matters of fact into doctrine; although infallibility, wherever it may reside, does not include a knowledge of the former. For some mention of Germanus, see above p. 96; for Lupus see Brit. after Rom. 2. p. 77—80; for Sidonius the note to p. 78; and for Faustus of Riez p. 92, 3, where in p. 93 l. 18 for "nine or ten" read "many."

[4] Concerning his machinations, and the paschal schism, see Brit. after Rom. 2. p. 40—62.

Since the kingdom could not exist, but federally ; nor even thus, by any common agencies ; an entirely new centre of government was almost a requisite. So America, no longer British, required a new city, to represent successful rebellion and a new nationality. It was to be a seat of independence, and a centre for the kingdom, not of the Caisariaid or Cessarogion, Men of Cæsar, but the kingdom of *Brutus* and his progeny, as it were (in my notion of that mythic name) the Cæsar-slayers. Slight, and modern, and unconvincing to me, are the allusions (Triad 53) to Augusta Lundinium, as a British metropolis after 408. Indeed the story of the Gwynvryn Llundain[5], in that Triad, is part of that fable which imputes antiquity to the White Tower ; erected by Gundulph, Bishop of Rochester[6], in 1077.

I certainly regard that city as having been the Roman capital of this island. Because[7] Theodosius repaired to Augusta to prepare his operations against the tribes in Caledonia ; with which preparations that city would have no connexion, otherwise than as the general seat of government. And yet more, because Londinium is the point to and from which nearly half, 7 out of 15, of the itinera of Antoninus radiate. But I do not think, that policy was continued under the Kings of Britain.

Ambrosia or Ambresbury appears to have been the place to which the national councils were summoned by the king, where the independence of the island was celebrated by joyous festivities, and where the rites and orgies of its fanatics were solemnized. There kings were elected, anointed, and crowned ; and there also buried. Vortigern is for that reason called in Geoffrey the *Consul of Wessex*. He belonged, himself, to the aboriginal population beyond Severn ; but the seat of his general sovereignty over the island was in that district, which was so soon afterwards occupied by the Saxon posterity of Gewis. It was there, he had been unctus non per Deum ; there he took council with warriors and fanatics ; and there he would, in great probability, have been ab uncto-

[5] See above Sect. VII. p. 131.

[6] See Maitland Hist. London 1. p. 38. ed. 1756. 1. See Ammianus. 28. cap. 3.

[7] Bayley's Hist. Tower. p. 6.

ribus trucidatus, if his German father-in-law had not been beforehand with the anointers. Ambri seems to have been the seat of this strange government, of which the character may perhaps be termed a federal theocracy.

If Caer Caradawc was any town at all, it certainly was Ambresbury[8]; but methinks it truly was no town, and was the CAER itself. At any rate it is obvious, that the Mount Caer Caradawc of Avan Red-spear and of the 20th Triad took its name, either from the Cor upon it, or from the contiguous town. And we read in Caradoc of Llancarvan an express statement, that the Mynydd Caer Caradawc was the Mynydd Ambri[9]. The gloss of Geoffrey, (adopted by many since, though thus contradicted by his cotemporary and continuator,) that Caer Caradawc was Sarisberia, is easily accounted for. The Great Plain or Maes Mawr was then, as now, vulgarly termed Salisbury Plain, Ager Severianus; by which means, whatsoever stood thereupon became connected with Sarum. Had those extensive downs been called Wilton Plain, we should then have been told that the Caer Caradawc was at Wilton.

But it was at Ambri, by reason of fact, insomuch as the things of Ambri and the events of Ambri are found there; and by mystical reason, (which mode of reasoning, however misliked, cannot be separated from this strange history,) because Caradawc is the son of Cynvelyn Bran, and is the Melen or Melyn mab Cynvelyn of the mysteries, and thus Caer Caradawc is the afflicted Cyn-ebyr, or Ebyr Hen-Velen, where "the threatener of Melyn" covered the mead-vessels with blood. Old Hardyng, not venturing to depart from Geoffrey, yet clearly seeing the topographical untruth, tried in vain to reconcile what was repugnant;

> They sent him word to mete first day of May .....
> Upon the plaine of Sarum in meeke arraye,
> That Caire Cradok was called so that tide,
> Byside Awmesbury fair edified.—cap. 68.

[8] Humfrey Llwyd in his Commentariolum p. 45, describes another Caer Caradoc, an earthen fort in Shropshire. He is perhaps correct in supposing, that this fort was popularly ascribed to the *historical* Caractacus.

[9] Carad. Llanc. ap. Iolo MSS. p. 45.

But Wace, in Geoffrey's life-time, had set the whole matter right, by saying,

> Es grans plaines de Salesbere
> Les (near to) l'abeie d'Ambresbere.—7410.

Similar remarks apply to the Caer Sallawc, Exposed or Lonely Caer, at which, as the 60th Triad says, the treachery of Hengist was perpetrated. In the Hoianau it is mentioned as the place, at or near which the outrage occurred.

> Better the grave than life to every exalted one;
> The horns[1] on the mighty one who is the treasure of the Four Quarters[2];
> And when the generation[3] of swarmers shall be sea-rovers
> There shall be a severe morning before Caer Sallawc.—st. 5.

Therefore it is a manifest error, to think that Sarum is meant by that name; which itself is either "the lofty giantess, called the Caer," or else the adjacent town. When Caradoc of Llancarvan says, that Mount Caer Caradawc or Ambri was in the Lordship of Caer Sallawc, it is ambiguous, whether he distinguishes between the Cor Hill and the town in whose immediate district it stood, or whether he meant the more remote jurisdiction of Sarum.

All the traces of a national, federal, and central government are found at Ambri, and none such at London, York, or Verulam. What we hear of the Coron Llundain or London Crown is no more than modern discourse, founded upon modern circumstances, to express the idea of the Coron Prydain Oll and insignia of the Unbennaeth Prydain.

The notion of a capital seat of government is strongly expressed in one of the minor[4] Gododin poems, which describes the annual May-Feast, as disturbed by Hengest. "From the Mount was the shout of Tudvwlch, to the embittered as-

[1] Goring, i. e. oppression. So in Avaon *v.* 40. p. 44.

[2] The *Pedryvanau* of the Cor Emmrys. See Sect. VII. p. 120-2.

[3] Meibion heidawc.

[4] Myvyr. i. 21 and from a better copy (in most respects) ap. Davies Myth. 574. That editor has subjoined a quantity of English, filled with his notions, but sometimes without the semblance of a translation. For instance, his copy gives the word ewyonydd, which I cannot construe, but *his* English for it is, "whilst the circular revolution was performed by the attendants."—p. 576. This is raving.

sembly at the blood-causing carousal. From the mead and much drink, they went to the blood-shedding over their satiety. Gory was the place[5] of action; *as for the repository of the fundamental laws*, it was so likewise. The speech of Cenon [was], I shall have been conveyed from Mona to an ominous privilege. Tudvwlch was an apt man to effect a breaking through, upon the place of the Caers. Disastrous were their compotations with Mynyddawg, the twelvemonth's longing to the men of Cattraeth." Myvyr. p. 21. Davies p. 578. For the laws and constitutions (cynrhaith, al. cyvraith) would not be deposited elsewhere than at the centre of government. The same antique and most important poem says,

Not assembling in arms	Aryvanghynnull
Was an incomplete arrangement,	Anghyman dull,
In the form of a tumult,	Twryv yn agwedd,
Before the place of presence,	Y rhag menwedd,
Before the awful of aspect,	Y rhag mawrwedd,
Before the place of kingly power,	*Y rhag ma rhiedd*,
When hell became king	Pan ysteyrn gwern
Among the curved drinking-horns,	Y am gamgyrn,
Among the curved[6] swords.	Y am gamgledd.

Much surmise has arisen, that the Stonehenge was so constructed, as to indicate at certain seasons the position of the sun in the ecliptic, the phase of the moon, and some other points of astronomy; for which Dr. Smith contended with ingenuity in his "Choir Gaur, the Grand Orrery," &c. John Wood, the architect, maintained that the circles of Stanton Drew expressed the Pythagorean system of the universe, with its relative distances of sun, moon, and planets. And, if his facts are quite accurate, they give support to his inference. See his Descript. of Bath vol. i. p. 151. 1749.

Others have since run wild in the prosecution of these ideas. One Mr. Waltire discovered that the barrows or tumuli, which cover the plain near Amesbury, represented the situation and magnitude of the first stars. More recently

[5] Man waith. Variously read, man vaith, the ample place.

[6] Either literally curved, in their shape; or perverse and iniquitous, according to the idiom of *cam*.

Mr. Duke, in his Druidical Temples, has propounded that the Wiltshire Downs are a planetarium or diagram, twenty miles in diameter, from the planet Venus at Winterbourne Basset to Saturn at Stonehenge. p. 6. But, independently of the ridges of intervening hills, some of these planets would be intercepted from the view of each other by the earth's sensible horizon; and the ancients seem charged with having constructed an elaborate synopsis of things not visible, and a planisphere not upon a plane. I own, that these things appear to me fantastical in the last degree.

Yet I cannot but suspect, that Dr. Smith's opinion, or some part of it, may have been correct; and that the seasons for Mithriacal rites, solemnized at Ambri, may have been observable at the Cor Emmrys. Those Englynion which describe the astrologer Saints, "the seven who numbered the stars," as deriving their lore from "the stone of awful rotundity," should have their weight.

The following lines are in the Dialogue of Ugnach with Taliesin.

> When I shall come from the *Caer of the Stars* (Caer Seon),
> From the combat and the crowds (tewon),
> To the silence of the Caer of Llew and Gwydion.

The Dirge of Aeddon in which the sanctuary of the Britons is spoken of as an ark upon the floods, has these expressions, partly similar.

When Aeddon departed	Pan doeth Aeddon
From the land of Gwydion,	O wlad Wydion,
The strong shelter of the Stars,	*Seon tewdor,*
Pure poison did flow,	Gwenwyn pur doeth
Four successive nights,	Pedair plunoeth,
In the season of May-night.	Meinoeth tymhor.

The distinction made in the former passage, between the Caer Gwydion and the Caer Seon, seems to vanish in this. But viewed cœlestially, and in the antitype, Caer Gwydion is the Milky Way, where some imagined the departed saints to abide with Enoch and Elijah. Auson. Ephem. Orat. 38—42. And that may furnish the solution.

What is said of the Druids discoursing on the heavens, multa præterea de sideribus atque eorum motu ..... dis-

putant atque juventuti tradunt, is by no means sufficient to give such people credit for the mathematical study of astronomy. Cæsar vi. 14. But it was an avowed and prædominant study of the Post-Roman Britons. Idris, Gwydion, and Gwyn ap Nudd were blessed astronomers, who could divine from the planets whatever would happen till the day of judgment. Caerlleon upon Usk is said to have contained a college of 200 astronomers. Ceridwen regulated the works of her cauldron according to the books of the astronomers; but the Cor Emmrys is the Cauldron of Ceridwen. Hanes Tal. p. 17. Above, Sect. VII. With respect to the assertion that Caer Sidin (curtailed into Sidi) means the zodiac, I regard it as such assertions without evidence deserve. But allusions to astrology abound in the more ancient British remains; and it was peculiarly the science of Ceridwen. The Canu y Byd Mawr or Song of the Macrocosm may in particular be consulted.

A word may well be bestowed on Mr. Wood's notion of a Copernican system at the Rollrich, or such as Philolaus produced out of the school of Pythagoras. Nothing indicates the Druids to have received that secret from the Pythagoreans; nor do they appear to have differed from the western polytheists as to the importance[7] of the Sun in religion. But when the Rite of Mithras was in fashion, its great patron the Emperor Julian no longer disguised the philosophy of Philolaus and Numa. And in the mundane table of the St. Greal, the perilous seat reserved for the Christ of those mysteries was at the central point of that circle; which scarce admits of two interpretations. Therefore, if Mr. Wood's statements were now to obtain confirmation, I should not hesitate to claim him as my witness.

But, on the whole matter, I would make this observation; that, if astronomical rules governed the erection of those stones, such a fact when admitted would form no argument,

[7] A distinction which became appreciable, in the days of Heliogabalus and Aurelian; and when a hebdomad was borrowed from the Jews and Christians, giving the great day to Mithras, and banishing poor Jupiter into an obscure corner of that novel institution, the week.

from which to infer their patriarchal antiquity; but, on the contrary, would be a striking point of conformity between the work in question, and that period of time to which national tradition has assigned it.

Without attempting to speculate on the various, but little known, uses and functions of this sanctuary, its supposed connexion with the circular pyrèum of Kildare renders it worth our while, if not incumbent upon us, to show that a Sacred Fire was kept at Ambri. And it has another congruity to the pyrèum, in its greatest festivals being held on the Kalends of May, which is the Irish [8] La Bealteine, Day of the Fire-mouth, and Allhallows or the Kalends of November, called Coelcerthi [9] or the Omen Fires.

The god Cynvelyn or Bran, father of Melyn or Caradawc, was himself (as the Ghebers esteem of their war-god, Behram) the seventh of the world's [1] seven fires. So in the Dialogue of Merlin the Wild and Taliesin;

> T. The seven sons of Goliffer are seven mighty ones when proved,
> Their seven spears are no skulkers at their seven posts.
> M. The seven fires of the Fire are seven opposing battles;
> The seventh is Cynvelyn for every front [2] station.

But the same fire is the gwarchan or talisman of Cynvelyn, in the Incantation [3] of Cynvelyn; which is a Gododin poem upon the slaughter of the 360 out of the 363, or, in other words, of the Twelve. That the sacred fire is there spoken of as preserved at the Gododin, seems unquestionable to me; and the following passages are relevant.

[8] The Chaldæo-Celtic god Bel or Baal seems to be procured out of three mare's nests. I. The Fire-mouth, quasi crater; or circular cavity of the earth, in which the Vernal Fire was kindled. See p. 193. II. Belenus or Velen, the mutation of Melen, Flavus, from which colour of the Sun the La Bealteine of May is called in Erse, La Buidhe, Day of the Yellow. III. Bel, Beli, War, from the contracted form of the Latin word duellum, from duo.

[9] Literally, awful or terrible omens; but always applied to the Fire.

[1] Comprehending, according to the Ghebers, all the other six.

[2] Cynvan. Or chieftain, cynrhan. Printed, cynhvan.

[3] Arch. Myvyr. p. 60. And Davies Myth. p. 618—22, where an useful copy, somewhat different in its readings, is edited, and strange extravagancies propounded by its editor.

Pei my brydwn,	Were I to compose,
Pei mi ganwn,	Were I to sing,
Tarddei warchan gorchegin,	The talisman would break out high-growing,
Gwelgin torch Twrch Trwyth.	The clasp of the chain of the Twrch Trwth.

The Twrch Trwyth (Perrumpent or Prorumpent Hog) was the son of King Taredd (i. e. the Pervader), and his name was famous in British mythology. See E. Llwyd Cornish Grammar p. 236. and the Mabinogi of Kilhwch and Olwen. He seems to be called in Cad Goddeu, Baedd *Llachar*, the Boar *Radiance*. And he was a being of the power of Fire. When Cynddylan's palace at Pengwern was burnt, it is probable he perished in the fire, and that so much is meant by *v.* 8 of Llywarch's Dirge, "Twrch penetrated through his head;" while the 30th line "Twrch will not restore to him the dwelling of his father" signified, that Fire will not disgorge what it has devoured.

Tyllei ylvach	The bickering chain [of the Twrch]
Gwryd govurthiach.—	Would pierce the narrow furnace.—
Cynvelyn gasnar	Cynvelyn's wrath
Ysgwn bryvwn bar,	Is the exalted supreme fury,
Goborthiad adar.—	The purveyor of birds.—
Gorchawn cyrdd ceinmyn	The pinnacle of fair-minded songs
Yw gwarchan Cynvelyn.	Is the talisman of Cynvelyn.
Gorchan Cynvelyn cylchwy wylad.	The enchantment of Cynvelyn is the shield of the festival.
Etwyn gwr gwnedd gwyned y wlad.—	The firebrand of the strenuous man whitened the land.—
Cein dy anrhudd, ynys gwerth,	Fair is thy bright redness, precious island,
Rhudd, volaud, medd, meirch.	Redness, eulogy, mead, and horses.
Eithinyn neud gudd blennyd?	The furze-bush, is it not radiance in the gloom?
Gwarchan Cynvelyn	The talisman of Cynvelyn,
Ar Ododin neus gorug odyn?	Did it not produce a furnace on Gododin?
Dogyn gymhwylliaid.	Enough of arguers!
Y waew drwm oreureid	The heavy gilt spear
A'm rhodes, poed er lles ym enaid.	Which he gave me, be it for a gain to my soul.
Edmygir y vab Tecvan	Tecvan's son [Cynvelyn] shall be honoured
Wrth rhiv ac wrth rhan,	At the numbering and the partitioning,
Wyr Calvan greit.—	Grandson of Calvan the fiery.

This ancient poem, being composed after the fatal battle of Sarum, concludes as follows.

> Of the sanctity of the winding refuge they have possessed themselves.
> The talisman of the songs of Cynvelyn is possessed in common.

Which appear to me to mean, that, although the Britons had lost their sanctuary, they still had the sacred fire, which was capable of removal from thence; as it had been previously brought over from the pyrèum of Brighid in Erin.

Avaon's Song of Horses shows that animal (as well as the Twrch) to be a sign of the igneous principle; but, thereby, it rather adds obscurity to the succeeding enumeration of mystic horses. The solution of it remains for future discovery. But the commencement is to our purpose.

> Let burst forth ungentle
> The horse-paced[4] ardent fire!
> Him we worship (iolem) above the earth,
> Fire, fire, low-murmuring in its dawn.
> High above [our] inspiration,
> Above every spirit,
> Great is thy terribleness,
> No loiterer in the affray, nor at the wedding-feast of Llyr (the Strand).
> To the course (surf) of the Strand (Llyr) is assimilated
> Thy rage in the Cyn-Ebyr,
> A fair dawn against the gloom.
> At the dawning, at the ardency,
> At every equality (equinox?),
> At the aberrations from equality (solstices?),
> At the Quadruple[5], I Avaon
> Will extol the ardent judge,
> Mighty in tumult, deep his wrath.
> Not timid is my hero, grey
> As the foam on the Clyde.

The phrases here employed bear direct reference to the same place as the Gododin poems and the Meib Llyr; and the words both here and in parts of Gorchan Cynvelyn favour the idea, that the sacred fire was so disposed as to be terrific, and

[4] Literally trotting.

[5] The word is Pedyr, fourfold, or Peter; concerning which see above p. 88. 120, l. 189. The quadriform structure of the sanctuary seems, in this passage, to be referred to the four seasons of the year.

even dangerous, to those whom its guardians viewed as enemies; nay, that it was in fact so brought into use at the bloody Calanmai. Is not some such thing implied in the personal allegory, that Flame, the Wolf-man or Werewolf, was the son of Go-do? In Aneurin's Gododin we meet again with the torques or golden chain of the Twrch Trwyth, pointing us to the like inferences.

A dappled furze-bush, the vehement Bull of Battle[6]
Came down heavily among the foremost,
The reward of mead in the court and the beverage of wine.
The blade-spear was thrust forth between the two bands.
A dappled furze-bush, the vehement Bull of Battle[6]
Came down heavily in presence of the noble wealth.
Uprose the troop of incompact shields.
Broken were the shields before the bellowing kine of Beli.
A dwarf, hastening from over the boundary of bloodshed,
Came to us, grey-headed, the arch-counsellour,
Sportively dappled at top, the same also golden-chained.
Twrch made a crafty compact in front of the course.—p. 6, 7.

We have lately seen (in Sect. X.) much of the grey horses, pale horses, and pale horses dappled with redness, of the Bards; sometimes unnaturally and strangely introduced. By supposing, that the Cambrian chieftains were continually supplying their bards with pale horses, we should fail to explain the language used. But these horses "grey as the foam of the Clyde," candentes, are the fire steeds within the Llyr Hen-Velen, upon which the greatly-raging cauldron of Ceridwen rides. Those passages are sometimes literally meant, with the mystic allusion annexed; while some have no literal meaning. Llywarch's eleven triplets on the runners, running under the thigh of Geraint ap Erbin,

Oedd rhe rhedaint dan vorddwyd Geraint,

may at first sight suggest a literal allusion to numerous horses, ridden by him at different times. But, upon reflection, they ill admit of that sense; and leave an impression of mystical discourse, not without the doubt whether Geraint living, or dead, be the object of them. And the following passage of the fire poem, Incantation of Cynvelyn, explains

[6] The dæmon of war and slaughter, like Eris at the wedding feast of Peleus; not the leader of either nation in particular.

to us, so far as proving them not literal, the runners running under Geraint.

Ar ddewin dwyar	On the stirrups of the diviner
Cyrrhaith; gradd morion	Is fate; with the pace of emmets
A dan vorddwyd haelon	Under the thighs of the generous ones
Cyvred cerdd wyllion,	The spirits of darkness run,
Ar weling tirion	On the lovely lawn
Teyrn tud anaw.	Of the prince of the land of harmony.

The sacred fire, its Powers, and the precincts of its pyrèum were, again, those horses and horse-paddocks by which, according to Cuhelyn, Bardic musicians were judged.

The song of the sovereignty
Is melody in just metre,
A blessed emulation.
The excelling horses
Are, therefore, and their paddocks,
Nice requirers in hearing.
The circle of refuge,
Asylum of our race,
Is a store-house of mutual censures.—p. 186.

The last Section also presented the reader with the curious lines, on the dragon flaming round the Circle of Britannia, with a blaze *co-extensive to its limits.* p. 183. This was upon occasions. We may compare the exordium of the Preiddeu, exhorting to worship the supreme lord and king, "if he[7] spreads (or expands) his supremacy over the shores of Mundus;" as well as Cuhelyn's remarkable phrase, Llan Flam-ddc, the Flame-dispensing Sanctuary.

Erect of horn (cywyrgyrn), at our joint-station,
Is the bantling of the flame-dispensing sanctuary,
The bantling fair of aspect.

That the fire, being co-extensive with the place, was also circular in form, is signified in the Twrch's golden-clasped torques. In fact, the great circle was the grand and central bealteine or fire-mouth. For the Fire that was kept by the guardians of the Cauldron, in the Caer Sidi, see the Meib Llyr *v.* 49. And here I will leave this great but obscure

[7] Pe leddas. *If* for *when.*

topic, of which the illustrations are scattered up and down, but the clear elucidation no where found.

No cool or candid judge will make it a point of blame, if the policy of an age whose history is no longer extant, and the full scope of its exertions and use of its works, are not plainly and consistently set before him. He will rather give his approbation to those, who abstain from supplying the wants of ignorance by practices of delusion.

SECTION XII.

This style not Patriarchal. It was brought over from Germany and Scandinavia. How ancient it may have been in those countries. Its uncertain date in Asia. Whether its origin in North-Eastern Asia. Of no remote date in America. Doubtfulness of the subject, and presumption of theories.

It becomes a natural enquiry, from whence this megalithic fashion was brought into the Britannias, and Ireland ; in the two former of which countries, at least, it exercised so great an influence. But it is an enquiry if relevant, certainly not at all necessary, to my purpose ; and therefore one in which I need not greatly deplore the inadequacy of my knowledge.

They, who ascribe those works to the primitive times of the British countries, labour to show that the earliest patriarchs on record had such a fashion. And since, in all simple and primitive communities, rough stone is the obvious material for permanent monuments, they could scarcely fail of finding some instances, whereof to avail themselves. But as terminal stones, grave stones, altar stones, or trophy stones, would prove nothing, it was a desirable approximation to find stone circles.

For this purpose the twelve stones placed at Gilgal by Joshua's order are sometimes cited ; and it is even pretended, that their circular arrangement is expressed in the name of Gilgal. Josh. c. iv. But the ensuing chapter expressly says, " this day have I *rolled away* the reproach of Egypt from off you, wherefore the name of the place is called *Gilgal* unto this day." c. v. *v.* 9. The words " this day " do not appear to mean the day on which the stones were placed. Nor has the placing of them any apparent connexion with the rolling

away of the reproach of Egypt; which was the neglect of circumcision. But if the rolling away had any relation to the stones at all, it must have related to the rolling them into their places; not to placing them in the order of a circle, which is no rolling at all.

As the stones were twelve "according to the number of the tribes," they so far agreed with the stones in the Ephod, of which it was commanded, that "the stones shall be with the names of the children of Israel, twelve according to their names." But the arrangement of the Ephod was quadrangular, "even four rows of stones." Therefore we may reasonably conclude, that the stones at Gilgal were *not* placed in a circle. For as the order of tribe-stones in the Ephod was divine, it is unlikely that the faithful successor of Moses should depart from it. The same argument applies to the monument of Sinai, "twelve pillars according to the twelve tribes of Israel," and to the altar of Elijah upon Carmel, "twelve stones according to the number of the tribes of the sons of Jacob." Exod. xxiv. 4. 1 Kings xviii. 31. Neither were Joshua's stones great ones, but pebbles of the Jordan, each conveyed by a single man.

Those obelisks which the ancient Iberians, a nation of Mount Caucasus[1], used to place about the graves of their warriors, one for every man whom the deceased had slain, would if numerous become circular, as being *περὶ τὸν τάφον*. Aristot. Polit. vii. c. 2.

The entire system, as it was introduced among the Britons in the last days of the Western Empire, perhaps never existed any where else, even in regard of the forms it assumed, but much less, in regard of the feelings with which it was connected. There was this difference, that elsewhere it exhibited the natural materials and rude fashion of a real simplicity; whereas here it exhibits the deliberate choice, and fanatical zeal, of people more advanced in civility. But the matter in question (as distinct from its precise forms,

[1] So I judge, from the immediately preceding mention of the Scythians, and from the philosopher's ignorance of the western nations.

or its moral spirit) seems to have travelled hither westward from the continent.

We should not, however, look to any specimens of similar work that may be scattered in distant parts of the world; but to those countries which lay North and East of Britain, Scandinavia, and Northern Germany. In them we find rudiments of what the Britains carried further. Olaus Wormius, in his cap. ix. de lapideis monumentis, describes the stone circles as loca comitialia, and as circos in quibus pugiles duello decertabant. The monument of Tyfnes, p. 62, consists of six obelisk stones, each closely surrounded by a double circle of large pebbles, almost like a finger wearing two rings. The Icelandic Landnama Bok (which I never saw) speaks of the Domhringr or Judicial Circle, in which judgments and human sacrifices took place. cit. ap. Barry's Orkneys p. 208. and Pink. Geogr. i. p. 28. In Gough's Camden, i. 156, Mr. J. Picardt of Coeverden is cited, describing the grote steenhopen or great stone-circle of Drenthe, as an ancient structure of large stones elevated in a large circle, and mortised and tenoned into one another like those at Stonehenge. They are said to have been placed by the heathen Saxons on their way to England, where Mr. Picardt heard they had erected such another monument on Salisbury Plain. Ant. Drenth. Groning. 1732. If this rare author did so express himself, his exaggerations may be reduced by looking at the engraving in Keysler p. 7. You will there see a rude and misshapen pile with stones in many instances laid across the lower masses or lumps, but not in all. It is but a suggestion of that which Britain consummated in the coronal enclosure at Ambresbury. Olaus Magnus describes and rudely delineates the "mirâ compagine immensa saxa in modum altissimæ latissimæque januæ sursum transversumque viribus gigantum erecta," between Skara and Kelby in Gothland. de Gent. Sept. i. cap. 30. Here is a nearer approach to the majestic triliths of the same place; but their detached unsystematic position rather assimilates them to the Carn Boscawen, in Borlase pl. xiv. and p. 190. The flat stone called Morasteen, which has twelve smaller stones placed

round about it, and standing whereupon the ancient kings of Sweden were elected, is a memorable instance of the comitial circles mentioned by Wormius. Ol. Mag. i. c. 31. viii. c. 1. The importation of these forms into Britain from the pagan barbarians of Germany and the Baltic may almost be inferred with some degree of confidence. It must therefore be uncertain whether some of our ruder specimens, particularly towards the north, may not be of foreign as well as pagan handywork.

It is equally within reason to believe, that those scattered about France are monuments of the Teutonic nations, who seized upon that country during the last century of the Western Empire. Nor am I at all prepared to say, that such an use of rough stones must have come to an immediate end, upon the Arian or Catholic baptism of those nations. Especially those which marked the place of some chieftain's sepulture. For, even supposing that the converted hordes were turned upon the sudden into exact and normal Christians, cherishing no remnants of their former ideas, I cannot see what ancient canon[2] or precept of the Church such an erection would have infringed. The change would more properly belong to the adoption of Latin arts and manners.

The main difference between the northern teachers and their British disciples did not lie in the grandeur of performance, but in the concomitant state of mind. Teutonic authors touched but rarely and incidentally upon the existence of such an architecture; nor did their superstition hinge upon it, or their minds dwell upon it. The contrary of which happened in Britain, to the last extreme and hyperbole of such sentiments. With the rites and solemnities of the former it was simply quia faciunt; but with the latter, quia[3] ibi faciunt. The former also had little to disguise, and their spirit was not that of secresy. Thor was not a Duw Celi; he was not *llediaith* like Llyr, nor *gairvrith* like Bran, nor

[2] No allusion to consecrated ground has been discovered, anterior to about A.D. 570.

[3] The sentiment with which the Puritans, despising sacred places, reproached the Episcopalians, who honoured them. See Verney's Notes of the Long Parliament. p. 13.

was his Dombringr a *gogair;* and upon the whole he was not a dishonest god. For there was not, in him and his, a dissembled adherence to things ostensibly abandoned.

We are led on to ask, whether the megalithic style was borrowed by the Britons from Frisians, Saxons, or Danes, whose forefathers had used it from time out of all memory; or whether it was truly ancient among neither. But we lack the means of answering; and, for my own part, I have not, and entirely disclaim, the ability to pronounce. Yet so far as I see room for conjecture upon this doubtful question, I should think it was not antique among those north-western nations.

Writers are as profoundly silent upon such usages among the ancient Germans, as in Gaul and Britain. The learned and reasonable Keysler was driven, by want of any thing else to cite, into the conceit, that the moles saxeæ of Scandinavia were the northern pillars of Hercules, to which Tacitus alludes. Ant. Sept. p. 190. This negative reasoning does not by any means possess the crushing force, which it possesses in the case of Britain and Gaul. But, whatever its weight, it is on that side.

Secondly, Mr. Picardt, the reporter of the traditions of Drenthe, had heard that the Grote Steenhopen had been constructed only just before the establishment of the Saxons in Britain. So that we may be getting again into the old story, of antiquaries asserting vast antiquity, while the people themselves disclaim it.

Thirdly, a like inference is suggested by the monuments of Drenthe and Friesland being called the Huynen-betten and Reusen-betten, Hunn's beds, and Giant's beds. In order to account for the former term, Keysler referred it to the word *hunne,* said to mean *a dead man.* p. 103. But the alternative of Reusen seems to show that the mighty, and not the dead, were the objects of allusion. We have indeed an instance, in Scherz, of *die Hunnen* sensu lato et vago, for any formidable people. Gloss. Medii Ævi. And it may be used vaguely in this instance. But the Hunns did not belong to the more ancient traditions; and they only crossed the river Don into Europe in A.D. 374. Therefore the tendencies of the phrase

Huynen-betten are not to exalt the antiquity of what were so called.

Lastly, I observe that Beowulf, a Saxon poet supposed of the 5th century, calls the Danes collectively, or some portion of that nation, the Hring-Denas. Since four of his five other epithets for Danes are partial, and the fifth of them uncertain, this may likewise be confined to a portion. It is more probable to refer this[4] title to the domhringar and comitial circles, than to the fashion of wearing rings, or to rings used as money. But if so, the epithet, whether applied to some Danes, or to all the Danes, suggests the idea of a custom still so far novel and peculiar in the North, as to form matter of observation. See Beowulf. *vss.* 2559. 3535.

The subject is quite uncertain; but all that talk of a vague antiquity, which is so freely hazarded, is gratuitous, and belongs to an unscrupulous habit of assuming and asserting. It cannot be safely assumed, because those tribes were simple, that changes were not wrought among them in course of ages. That great movement of the nations, which pressed upon the Roman Empire and crushed it, is only viewed by us from without. But could we view it from within, we should discern moral workings accompanying that movement. Influences are reciprocally felt. In gnosticism we see the ideas of the Church modified, but we also see in it the modification of heathenism. And we may infer (not to say, we may trace) the existence of the latter far and wide beyond the limits of the Sects. For what the Church rejected in her strength, the weaker systems of the barbarians could not but imbibe, as advances in reason and towards civilization. Odinism (as we read of it) is really a sort of gnosticism in partibus infidelium, much feebler of course and more remote than that in partibus hæreticorum, but unprimitive in its colour, and innocent of even pretending to a primæval date. It adopted the Mithriac week of seven days, counted from the Sun's; which was a *gnosis* of the Hebrew week, coupled with the Lord's day. No features in the religion of Thor,

[4] The editors, Mr. Thorkelin and Mr. Kemble, do not seem to give any opinions on the word.

unless the most general ones, can be assumed older than the times of the Roman Empire. But, as regards the megalithic works of the North, this is no more than a doubt, and pronounces nothing; though I certainly desiderate the proofs of their antiquity.

Mr. Borrow warms into eloquence concerning a fine cromlech in the Alentejo, and boasts of its having outlived "the churches of the Arian Goth." But he omits to prove that the Arian Goth himself, or his precursor the Sueve, the Vandal, or the Silingian, did not erect this very monument over the body of his chieftain. Bible in Spain i. p. 119. As to "that blank stone" being the whole amount of our knowledge of the Celt and Cymbrian, it is the more untrue, from the want of any ascertainable connexion between that stone and the Celts and Cymbrians.

Some travels[5], not yet in print, are said to describe sepulchral works of a similar character (but whether above ground, or buried, and marked by what peculiarities, is not detailed) on three sites in the Regency of Tunis; one of which is near Hydrah. These may indeed cover the progenitors of the Gætulian Iarbas. But I cannot help recollecting, that the Vandal hordes reigned over Carthage and its territories.

Materials were but few in kind, and suggested but a limited number of modes for distribution or arrangement; and therefore it is rash to infer identity of race or doctrine, and transmission from one to another, wherever we discern analogies of form. Where cements were (for any reason) not employed to connect the materials, solidity was best to be obtained by their bulk. The difficulty is to say, what characteristics are sufficiently peculiar or specific to indicate derivation, from one to another, or from a common type. The sepulchral chambers mentioned in Mr. Dennis's fascinating work on Etruria, all either hypogèan or subtumular, are wisely pronounced by him too simple and obvious to indicate any particular race or origin. The chambers and passages of the guardiole of S. Marinella, built of quadrangular wrought

[5] Catherwood's MS. Travels cit. Dennis's Etruria ii. p. 322.

stones nicely fitted (acconciamente) without mortar, and roofed over with large blocks that lean against each other gable-wise, bear but a large and vague similitude to any thing Pseudo-Druidical. See Micali Monumenti p. 375. 386. and Tavola LV. The like may be said of the two hypogèan cistvaens of Cortona, made of four great polished stones (levigate), and roofed with a fifth. F. Inghirami Mon. Etr. iv. p. 72. The subtumular cists at Saturnia come nearer, insomuch as they are said to be formed with that dip or shelving[6] of the upper stone, from which cromlechs obtain their name. vol. ii. p. 316. The guardiole are Etruscan works, constructed in the commercial and decorative ages of Etruria, as their contents serve to evince. But the Saturnian cists, in the absence of any such indications, are supposed by the author to be of Umbrian, Sicel[7], or Aboriginal handywork. But, if thus separated from the others by the entire absence of the delicate arts, their alleged rudeness is almost their only datum. However the confinement of this masonry (so far as observation yet goes) to subterraneous positions is in itself a material distinction from the Pseudo-Druidical style of Northern Europe.

It is a probable opinion, that Europe was indebted to Asia for that style. Sir John Chardin relates that nearly two days' journey from Tauris in Media towards Sultania, he saw large circles of *hewn* stones; and the Persians affirmed, that certain giants called the Caous, waging war in Media, held their council in that place, each bringing with him a stone to serve him for a chair. They were so big, that eight men could hardly move one; and it was supposed, they must have been brought from six leagues off. i. p. 371. This curious account points to no age or date. For the Mongols of Zinghiz Khan may have been the giants who sate here in council; or it may have been Madyes and the Scythæ, who held Media conquered during 28 years; or it may have been any body else. These forms may have had their origin far to the East, in northern and central Asia, at some unknown, and perhaps

[6] Though not so in the instance engraved at p. 305.

[7] Like questions may be mooted, on the curious system of stones at Crendi in Malta, and the analogous, though dissimilar, Tempio dei Giganti in Gozo.

remote, but not *therefore* remote, epoch of time. There are reasons to think that China contains artificial works of the kind; but the matter requires examination.

Speaking of cromlechs in Ireland, Mr. Wakeman says, "as "structures perfectly similar are known to exist in many "parts of the world, even in the heart of India[8], we have no "reason to suppose that many of them, at least, may not be "memorials of a period when these islands had but lately "received their earliest colonies." Arch. Hib. p. 8. This is modestly worded, and proceeds from no vendor of Vallancean wares, but from a good author and out of a good school; yet it contains the root of the same reasonings which I have endeavoured to oppose. It amounts, if I labour under no misapprehension, to nothing better than this. India and other countries now contain cromlechs of a date not even approximately known, and *therefore* it is probable that others in Ireland are of the earliest date possible. Let the earliest colonization of the western island be called, at random, B.C. 400; and these cromlechs erected elsewhere Anno Mundi $x + y + z$, shall prove those in Ireland to have been erected circ. B.C. 390. Yet it is absolutely and undeniably unknown to the author whom I quote, whether the said date of A.M. $x + y + z$ was anterior to B.C. 390 or subsequent to A.D. 390. There are no premises at all, and therefore there cannot be any sort of conclusion.

The monuments of this kind, which are said to be found in North America, have been thought to bear a greater resemblance to those in Europe, than will resolve itself into the natural and obvious use of rough stone, by people in a certain stage of civilization, and desirous to erect something durable. Mr. Bartram describes a sort of cistvaens, of three upright slabs supporting a fourth, and open at one end. W. Bartram's Travels p. 370. In Mr. Finch's Celtic Antiquities[9] of America two circles of large stones are mentioned; and a remarkable cromlech at Salem in New York, composed

[8] This probably alludes to the three groups of Umbrella Stones in Malabar, figured by Sir R. Colt Hoare in Modern South Wilts 2. p. 57, and exhibiting the form of tall Cromlechs, or rather of Triliths with converging jambs. It is not stated, from whence Sir R. obtained those drawings.

[9] Ap. Silliman's Journal of Science and Arts. vii. p. 152-5.

of a granite block of many tons' weight raised, with a slant of from 2 to 5 feet, on seven conical supporters of lime-stone. If we were to conclude that America received this from the old world, we should have the more reason to conjecture that north-eastern and central eastern Asia may have been its cradle.

But we are never more removed from high chronological data, than when we are in America; for no country so completely wants vouchers of antiquity. And we have no reasons for asserting with Mr. Finch, that the Salem cromlech is the "most ancient monument which America possesses." Nor is he entitled to declare in his more general terms, that "these shapeless stones are proofs of the highest antiquity in any nation where they are found, and were erected by men of whom tradition has scarcely preserved even the name. They remind us of times to which our calculations and our history do not reach." For if we may trust his own next words, tradition has not only preserved two of their names, but indicates the place from which they came. They were "the Celts or Scythians, who gradually migrated from the borders of Assyria and Palæstine."

Meanwhile, there are no traces in America of that highest antiquity here dreamt of. The Inca Garcilaso de la Vega learned from an elder of his family, that the Peruvian nation was founded by Manco Capac, according to his belief, about the year of Christ[1] 1113 or 1114. Anterior to that, there is only a vague tradition of some scattered savages. Rycaut's Garcilaso p. 11. p. 14. The Aztecas, according to Mr. Ranking, boast no record of themselves earlier than A.D. 1160[2]; and they arrived in Anahuac or Mexico about 1317. They report that an earlier race had occupied that country in 1170. And they farther tell of an original nation of Toltequas, who had possessed the same country till about the last mentioned date, having commenced their own migrations from an unknown land[3] as in A.D. 544. See Humboldt ap.

[1] That is to say, when Garcilaso, who was born in 1530, was aged 16 or 17, it was considered to be about 400 years ago.

[2] A.D. 1194, in Aglio vii. 232.

[3] Vaguely described as N. E. of the Californian Rio Gila.

Aglio tom. v. p. 15. and Essai Pol. i. 370. This is the highest flight of American chronology; and it is precisely the date of Gildas de Excidio Britanniæ. But these stories of the Aztecas about the origin of a race, that had been finally destroyed some 250 years before their own arrival, must be of slender credit. The admitted[4] fact, that their precursors by 6 or 7 centuries spoke the same language as the Aztecas, tends to invalidate my faith in their existence, if not absolutely, at least as coupled with the Mexican chronology. At any rate, the Mexican religion, of which they are pretended to have introduced the symbols circ. 648, is so profusely imbued with manifest allusions to those of the Jews and Christians (see note iii. in Aglio vii. p. 409 ets.) that Humboldt was obliged to refer them to Asiatics imbued with Nestorianism (ibid. tom. v. p. 30); though he might, I think, also have mentioned very relevantly the worse name of Mani or Manes. The Mexican is a very marked and strong case of the gnosticism in partibus infidelium; and no æra within many centuries of that of the Nativity seems claimed by antiquaries for any thing Mexican.

Mr. Reinhold Forster's opinion, supported and developed by Mr. Ranking, that the principal American settlements were made by the Mongol fleets in the reign of Kublai Khan, bears a great show of probability. And though the Aztecas may not be inexact as to their arrival in Anahuac, they may have antedated their existence in America by more than a century; as well as the venerable kinsman of Garcilaso. See Forster's Discoveries in the North p. 43, note. J. Ranking's Historical Researches.

Although some tribes of savages may have found their way to America more early, we have no sort of proof that the megalithic works emanated from those earlier emigrants, rather than from the later. Indeed Mr. Finch claims a temple at Cuzco composed of twelve pillars, so placed (as we are told) that every month one of them should note the rising and setting of the sun, for a third *Druidical Circle* in America. And he ought to have observed, that the tradition

[4] Clavigero i. 153 confirmed by Humb. Ess. Pol. i. 379.

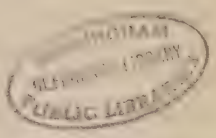
of the Incas fixed the date of its construction at some time subsequent to 1113. If Britain was late in imitating this sort of works, it is probable that America was later in receiving it; assuming it to have been a transmitted and imported usage.

However by the instrumentality of authors, few of them possessing (so far as I can judge) any vast erudition or parts, a strange and wild notion has grown up. They have imagined some primitive patriarchal æra, removed beyond all the indications of history; in which times the whole surface of the earth was peopled, not excepting Eastern America, Scandinavia, Iceland, Britain, Ireland, the Hebrides, the Zetlands, and the Orkneys. The bare statement of such an idea is nearly sufficient for its refutation. During that æra, one polity and religion, and one form of public rites and ceremonies, were diffused over the globe, with their accompanying structures; "so that their use (saith an antiquary) was at one period of the world universal." To such a catholic faith of aboriginal mankind cromlechs and druidical circles bear indelible testimony. Those were the times, when the great Abiri built the dracontium of Abury, and all the other dracontia of pagan antiquity.

But for all these things there is no warrant, either of proof, or probability. They are the conjectures of unrestrained hypothesis, helped out upon occasions (as I have grieved to observe) by other means. Few things of extensive usage have arrived at their greatest diffusion, in the earliest periods of their existence. Future generations may not improbably behold examples of Gothic architecture in nearly all countries, through the progress of European arts and religion. But, supposing its history by some means to fail, its general occurrence would furnish no sort of clue to the date of its invention; and a conjecture, that it became thus general in its earliest times, would be as unreasonable, as it would certainly be untrue. A vague reference to primæval ages is but a cloak for that ignorance, which writers have seldom the sincerity to profess.

It may partly supply the defects of arrangement in this volume, to recapitulate some of the principal points for which

I have contended. I. That the popular theories are opposed to the statements, and refuted by the silence, of all antiquity. II. That all extant history or tradition of the fact militates against them. III. That the art and science displayed in these works belongs to their historical, not to their theoretical, date. IV. That moral peculiarities, of the nature indicated by such proceedings at such a date, were in fact then existing. V. That the falsehoods apparent in the historical account do not destroy, but confirm, its authority; because they admit of sufficiently clear explanation, and contain the truth. VI. That these works, unheard of before the times in question, were prodigiously esteemed and venerated both soon after, and long after, those times. VII. That the synthetic argument from the whole to the part, running in this form, *these things are parts of a system, which system was primæval, and therefore these were primæval*, remains unproved.



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THE END.

ERRATA.

P. 124, line 2, *for* Briechbras *read* Breichbras.
P. 137, line 27, *for* Beavras *read* Benvras.
P. 142, line 26, *for* Dabhtach *read* Dubhtach.

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